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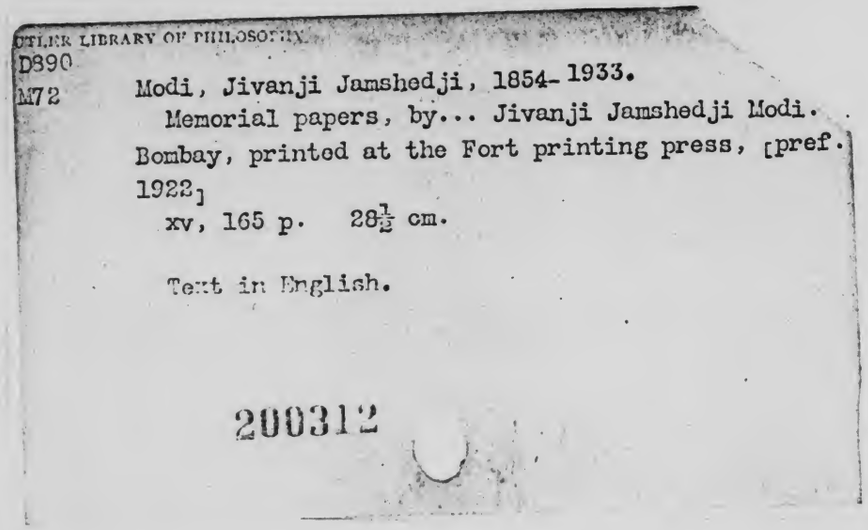
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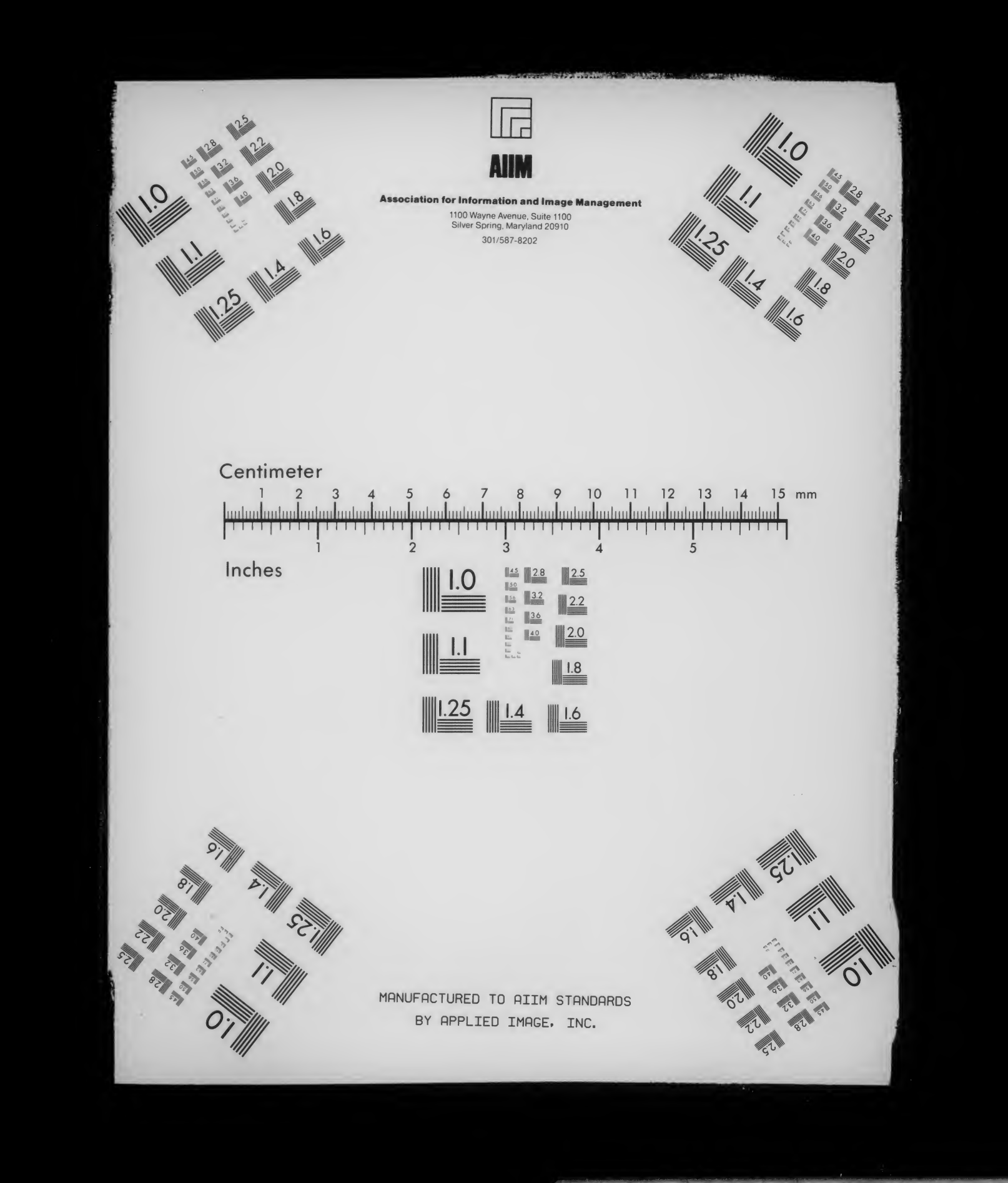
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Shams-ul-ulma Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, B.A., Ph.D., C.I.E.

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TO

Sir Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar,

K.C.I E., M.A., PH.D., LL.D.,

THE DOYEN OF ALL ORIENTAL SCHOLARS OF WESTERN INDIA,

AS A TOKEN OF

ESTEEM, REGARD AND ADMIRATION,

BY ONE, WHO

LIKE MANY OTHERS, HAS BEEN INSPIRED BY

HIS EXEMPLARY LIFE OF DEVOTION

AND WORK IN THE

SACRED TEMPLE OF SARASWATI.

JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI MODI.

PREFACE

I had the pleasure of writing eighteen papers on Oriental Subjects for eight Memorial Volumes, seven of which were published in honour of Scholars and one to commemorate the Jubilee of an Oriental Institution. I collect twelve out of these eighteen papers in this volume. Of these twelve, the first six were contributed to the Sir Jamshedjee Jejeebhoy Zarthoshti Madressa Jubilee Volume, edited and published by me with an Introduction in 1914, on the occasion of the 50 years' Jubilee of the Institution, which was celebrated on 4th March 1913. The seventh paper was contributed to the Spiegel Memorial Volume, edited and published by me with an Introduction in 1908, in honour of the late Dr. Frederick Spiegel, who died on 15th December 1905. The eighth paper was contributed to the Memorial Volume, published in 1918 by the Gatha Society of Bombay in honour of the late Dastur Dr. Hoshang Jamasp of Poona, who died on 23rd April 1908. The ninth was contributed to the Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume, published at Poona in 1917 in honour of Dr. Sir Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar upon the completion of his 80th year on the 6th of July 1917. The last three, the tenth, eleventh and the twelfth were contributed to the volume, entitled "The Orientalia" published at Calcutta in honour of Sir Ausitosh Mukerjee. Three, out of the eighteen memorial papers referred to above, were published in the K. R. Cama Memorial Volume, edited and published by me with an Introduction in 1900, in honour of the late Mr. Khurshedji Rustamjee Cama on the occasion of his 70th birthday. They are entitled (1.) Translation of a Passage of the Jamaspi or Jamasp-nâmeh relating to Plague and Famine; (2.) The years of the reigns of the later Iranian Kings according to the Jamaspi; (3.) A New Medal of King Behrâmgore. As two of these are incorporated in another form in my "Jamaspi, Pahlavi, Pazend and Persian Texts with translation (Pahlavi Translations, Part III)" and as one of them is published in my Asiatic Papers, Part I, they are not reprinted here.

24 March 1923 anthr. 8

Other two out of these eighteen are published in the Cama Masonic Jubilee Volume, edited and published by me in 1907 in honour of the late Mr. K. R. Cama on the occasion of his completing 50 years of Masonic life in 1904. They are entitled, "The Legendary and Actual History of Masonry" and "Zoroaster and Euclid". As they are included in my "Masonic Papers", published in 1913, they are not reprinted here. The remaining eighteenth paper, entitled "An Untranslated Chapter of the Bundehesh", was written for the volume, "Avesta Pahlavi and Ancient Persian Studies", a volume published in 1904 in honour of the late Shams-ul-ulma Dastur Dr. Peshotan Behramji Sanjana. But as the volume came to be confined to contributions by European Scholars only, the paper, though first accepted, was latterly returned. It was then read before the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society (Vol. XXI, pp. 49-65). As it is included in my Asiatic Papers, Part I, it is not reprinted here.

JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI MODI.

Fatehma Lodge,
Wodehouse Road, Colaba.
Gatha Vahishtoisht 1291 A.Y.
9th September 1922.

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THE TIBETAN MODE OF THE DISPOSAL OF THE DEAD.
SOME SIDE LIGHT THROWN BY IT ON SOME OF THE DETAILS OF THE IRANIAN MODE AS DESCRIBED IN THE VENDIDAD.

A STUDY.

BY

Shams-ul-Ulma Dr. Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, B. A., Ph. D.

Introduction.

I had the pleasure of visiting Darjeeling, for about five weeks, in May-June of 1913. While there, I had the opportunity of studying the manners and customs of the Tibetan Bhutias who lived there. I had the pleasure of visiting, for a number of times, their *gompâs* or monasteries and of having long conversations with their Lamas or priests, about the manners and customs of the Tibetans. I beg to tender here my best thanks to Mr. Jamshedji Framji Madon of Calcutta and Darjeeling, not only for his kind hospitality, but for all the conveniences that he kindly placed under his hospitable roof at my disposal for my inquiries and study at Darjeeling.

Among the many interesting subjects that I learnt there, one was that of the mode of the disposal of the dead in Tibet, a subject, of which I had casually read something before. The subject interested me much from the Parsee point of view, because, as said by Mon. L. De Milloué[1] and Dr. Sven Hedin[2], the mode resembled a good deal the Parsee mode of disposal.

Sources of materials.

I learnt much about the Tibetan custom from long conversations at Darjeeling, with Rai Sarat Chandra Das Bahdur C. I. E, the veteran Indian Traveller of the last generation who had visited Tibet

1. "Il est encore une autre maniére de pratiquer ces funérailles qui, par leur esprit au moins, se rapprochent beaucoup des usages funéraires des Parsis, méthode plus économique, si elle est moins expéditive" (Bod-Youl ou Tibet (1906) pp. 70-71.)

2. "The vultures here act the same part as in the Towers of Silence among the Parsees of Bombay and Persia" Trans-Himalaya, Discoveries and Adventures in Tibet (1909) Vol. I. p. 378.

three times, and with Revd. Kawaguchi, the well-known Japanese priest and traveller who had lived and studied at Lhassa for three years. The information from their lips was, as it were, from the first hands, because, on account of their long stay in Tibet, they had opportunities to see for themselves some Tibetan funerals. I also learnt something from the lips of Mr. K. Shempa, the Secretary of the Buddhist community at Darjeeling, and of some Lamas, who had, off and on, visited Tibet. I gratefully remember the courtesy often shown to me by Mr. Sonam Yatzar, the head Lama of the *gompâ* of Bhutia Busti, who is known as Lhadhag Amji, Chhothimba. I have supplemented my information thus derived, with study from the books of the above two Indian travellers[1] and of other European travellers[2].

Division of the subject.

I propose dealing with the subject of my paper under three heads.

I. An Account of the Tibetan mode of the Disposal of the Dead.

II. Points of similarity between the Tibetan mode and the Irânian mode as referred to in the Vendidâd and as practised by the modern Parsees.

III. Some side-light thrown by the Tibetan mode upon the Iranian mode.

I

AN ACCOUNT OF THE TIBETAN MODE OF THE DISPOSAL OF THE DEAD.

Four modes of the Tibetan disposal, as referred to by M. L. De Milloué.

M. L. De Milloué says, that four modes for the disposal of the dead prevailed in Tibet: 1 Cremation, 2 Burial, 3 Dissection, and 4 Exposure (L' incinération, l'enterrement, la dissection et l' exposition)[3]. In this division, in the word burial are involved two modes—the ground-

1. (*a*) "Journey to Lhasa and Central Tibet" by Sarat Chandra Das, C. I. E. 1902 (*b*) "Three years in Tibet" by the Shramana Eki Kawaguchi.

2. (*a*) "Lhasa and its Mysteries" by Col. Waddell (*b*) "Trans Himalaya" by Dr. Sven Hedin (*c*) "Across Thibet", a translation by C.B. Pitman of "De Paris au Tonkin à travers le Tibet inconnu" by G. Bonvalot. (*d*) "Bod-Youl ou Tibet (Le Paradis des Moines)" par L. De. Millouè (Annales du Musée Guimet, Tome douziéme). (*e*) "Narrative of the Mission of George Bogle to Tibet (1774) and of the Journey of Thomas Manning to Lhassa" by Clements R. Markham. (f) The Budhism of Tibet or Lamaism by Col. Waddel. (g) Diary of a Journey, through Mongolia and Tibet in 1891 and 1892, by William Woodville Rockhill. (h) Central Asia and Tibet. Towards the Holy City of Lassa, by Sven Hedin. (1903).

3. "Bod-Youl ou Tibet", p. 268.

burial and the water-burial. His last two modes, *viz.* Dissection and Exposure, are, as it were, the sub-divisions or methods of one and the same mode, *viz.* Exposure.

Six modes prevalent in Tibet at various times.

Looking to the above fact, and to the further fact, that there were other modes prevalent, though not to a large extent, we may say, that almost all the known modes for the disposal of the dead are, or at least, were, at one time, prevalent in Tibet. They are the following :—

1. Cremation
2. Ground-burial *i.e.* simple interrement in the ground.
3. Water-burial *i.e.* throwing the body in water.
4. Exposure, wherein the bodies are exposed—whether with dissection or without dissection—before vultures, dogs and such flesh-devouring animals.
5. Mummifying or embalming the body and thus preserving it—a mode very rarely followed.
6 Cannibalism, or at least that form of it which can be called, as M. L. De Milloué[1] says, *Patrophagie* i. e. eating the bodies of one's parents.

The Four principal modes.

Of the above six modes, the first four are the principal ones, held to be more or less sacred, both by the Hindus and the Tibetans, as they typify the four elements—fire, earth, water and air—of which a man's body is supposed to be made up.

Rev. Kawaghuchi speaks thus of these four modes: " These four processes of disposing of corpses originate from Hindû philosophy, according to which human bodies are believed to consist of four elements earth, water, fire and air, and it is thought that on death they should return to these original elements. Land-burial corresponds to the returning to earth, cremation to fire, water-burial to water, and the bird-devouring to the air, of which birds are the denizens. The bodies of Lamas are mostly disposed of by this last process, while those of a few privileged persons only, such as the Dalai Lama, sub-Dalai Lama and other venerable Lamas, believed to be incarnations of Bodhisattvas, are given a special modeof burial."[2]

1 Bod-Youl ou Tibet, p. 67.

2 "Three years in Tibet" p. 389-90.

The Tibetans have some monuments which are called *chortens* or relic-tombs. They are, at times, built on receptacles of the burial-ashes of the bodies after cremation and at times even over bodies buried under ground. The form of these *chortens* represent these four elements. The adjoining figure represents the form of a *chorten*. The four parts, of which the main part of the structure is made, are believed to symbolize the four elements. The upper spire-like form symbolizes ether. The special mode for the special few high Lamas, referred to by Rev. Kawaguchi, is that of mummifying the body and keeping it in a shrine, where people worship it.[1]

Before speaking at some length about the mode of Exposure, with which the Parsees are specially concerned and which is the special subject of this paper, I will say something on the other five modes. A short account of these modes will enable us to understand very clearly the reasons, why these are condemned in the Vendidâd.

1. Cremation in Tibet.

The Tibetans are Buddhists ; and as Buddhism enjoins cremation, one would naturally expect, that Tibetans should prefer cremation as a rule. But, it is not so. It is vary rare. In this connection, one must remember, that before the introduction of Buddhism into Tibet long after Gaotama Buddha, the people had their Bon religion.

As pointed out by M. L. De Milloué[2], Tibet was to Buddhism as Rome was to Christianity. Christianity was born and had flourished in a distant land. From there it went, at a later date, to Rome which then became its centre and the seat of its Popes and its hierarchy. So, in the case of Buddhism. From its cradle and home in India it went, at a much later date when it declined there, to Tibet and made it its centre and the seat of its Popes, the Dalai Lamas, and of its hierarchy. One must note in this connection, that many travellers, who have visited Tibet, its great Dalai Lama and other members of its higher priesthood, have, from several striking points of resemblance in the hierarchies of both, used words like " Popes,cardinals, bishops and prelates " in the matter of the Tibetan hierarchy. Having left its birth-

1 Ibid, pp. 393-94.
2 Bod-Youl ou Tibet, p. 153.

place, India, Buddhism made Lhassa such a great stronghold, that the great Lama exercises from there his divine authority over a part of China, over Mongolia and Siberia, and even over a part of Russia.

Tibetan Buddhism, mixed up with the elements of the older Bon religion.

Thus, the Buddhism of Tibet, had, mixed up with itself, the elements of the ancient religion of Tibet, known as the Bon religion. No new religion altogether supplants the belief and customs of the older religion of the land where it forces itself and spreads. Zoroaster had embodied in Irân in his Zoroastrianism, much of the ancient Mazdyaçnaism of the Paoiryotkaeshas that was likely to be of use. Early Christianity had to accept some of the ancient customs of the so-called heathen pagans. For example, we know, that, as pointed out by some Christian writers themselves, the Christmas day (25th of December) is not really the day of the birth of Christ. It is more a Zoroastrian Festival corresponding to the Feast of Mithras or Meherangân Jashan. Yet, the early Christians had to adopt it, with some Mithraic forms, as the birthday of Christ. Simillarly, in Tibet, Buddhism, which enjoined and recommended cremation, adopted and continued, with many of the older customs of the ancient Bon[1] religion of the country, the custom of Exposure of the dead, which it had inherited from its very primitive days, when Exposure seemed to be prevalent in the whole of Central Asia.

Why Cremation or Exposure was preferred to Burial.

It is said, that Cremation or Exposure before flesh-eating animals is preferred to Burial on account of the Tibetan belief in the transmigration of the soul. The belief is, that the body must be destroyed wholly as soon as possible. If it is not destroyed immediately, the soul is delayed in the progress of passing into another body or form.[2] Hence they sought either Exposure before flesh-eating animals, or Cremation, because these two modes soon disposed of the body.

1 For the Bon Religion, vide (a) " A brief stretch of the Bon religion", by sarat Chandra Das, in The Journal of the Buddhist Texts Society, 1903. (b) Bod-Youl on Tibet, by L. De Milloue, Chap. VI.

2 " L'ame ou l'esprit du mort ne peut se réincarner tant que les éléments matèrials du corps ne sont pas dissous et rendus à la masse des atoms mondiaux " (Bod-Youl ou Tibet, par. L. de Milloué, p. 269). This belief is quite opposite to that of the ancient Egyptians, who believed, that the longer the body was preserved and remained intact as a whole, the happier the soul. If the body was dissolved, the soul would be, as it were, homeless and would be hurt. Hence it was that, they went at times to the awfully costly process, of mummifying the body. They (a) embalmed the body with costly drugs, (b) put round it a number of strongly drugged clothes, (c) and then put it into a strong box made of seasoned wood, which box

Why Exposure was preferred to Cremation?

Out of these two, Cremation sooner destroys the whole of the body, and so, it ought to be greatly preferred. But there were three reasons for which it was not generally resorted to.

(*a*) The first reason is, that from very remote times, they have been following the cheap, simple and natural mode for the disposal of the body, which had come down to them with their ancient Bon religion, of which, in spite of their Buddhism, they had preserved many customs.

(*b*) Secondly, they considered Exposure preferable to Cremation, because, besides having the advantage common to it and the Cremation, *viz* immediate destruction of the body, it had the advantage of appealing to their piety. They thought, that by the mode of Exposure, they performed, even after death, the pious act of feeding the animals, which Buddhism asked them to take care of during their lives.

Some intelligent Bhutias, with whom I had the pleasure to talk on the subject, said: "It is a charitable and meritorious act to give our body to be eaten to God's animal creation". Dr. Sven Hedin thus expresses their view of this mode: "The whole aim of this method of disposing of the body is that the deceased may have the merit of giving his body to the birds, which would otherwise be famished. Thus even after his death he performs a pious deed which will promote the peace of his soul"[1]. Horace Della Penna also says that, "the giving of the corpses to the dogs is done as an act of charity, so that after death they may be useful to the living."[2]

(*c*) Thirdly, even if they were inclined towards Cremation, they could not afford to burn the body. Fuel is very scarce in Tibet. All travellers speak of its scarcity. People usually use as fuel for culinary purposes

itself had a counterfoil or counterpart of the man's body put on it. (d) The box was then placed in a strong stone sarcophagus. (e) The sarcophagus was buried in a secure place. (f) A tomb was then built over it. (g) Lastly, at times, a pyramid was built over the tomb. All these intricate processes were resorted to, to preserve the body intact as long as possible, under the belief, that, as long as the body was safe, the soul was safe and happy in the other world.

1 'Trans-Himalaya,' Vol. I, p. 378.

2 "Brief Account of the Kingdom of Tibet," by Fra Francesco Orazio Della Penna di Billi (1730), in the "Narratives of the Mission of George Bogle to Tibet and of the journey of Thomas Manning", by Clements R. Markham, p. 340.

the dried dung of the cattle. These dried dung cakes also are not cheap; and besides that, they would not like to burn their dear ones with this excreta of the cattle.

Rev. Kawaguchi says on this point: "Though cremation is considered as a superior way of disposing of dead bodies, the process is by no means easy in a country where faggots are scarce, for the dried dung of the yak is hardly thought proper for the purpose. Hence cremation is confined to the wealthier class only."[1] George Bogle also says the same thing. He says, "As there is little wood in the country, they cannot afford to burn the dead."[2] Under the circumstances, those, who, following the later injunction of their Buddhism, burn the dead, are few and far between. It is comparitively the rich who do so. As M. L. de. Milloué[3] says, Cremation is "funérailles de luxe" *i e.* "funeral of luxury" for the rich only.

2 Ground-burial.

Ground-burial is resorted to very rarely. It is not in line with the spirit of the teachings, both of their Buddhism and of their old Bon religion. The Bhutias of Tibet and other adjoining regions, who live in Darjeeling and in its vicinity, resort to burial, as it were, under compulsion. Cremation is costly for them. As they live under British Government, the simple open exposure resorted to by their co-religionists in Tibet, would not be allowed at Darjeeling. Again, water-burial, which they would prefer to ground-burial, because it destroys the body quicker than ground-burial, is not possible, as Government would not permit it from a sanitary point of view. So, they resort to ground-burial. At times, the friends and relatives of a poor Bhutia subscribe amongst themselves a sum to provide for cremation, which they prefer, but that happens rarely. In Tibet proper, burial is exclusively reserved for the funerals of high incarnate Lamas. Owing to their very high position and sanctity, it is believed that their souls have not to wait long for a complete dissolution of the body before re-incarnation.[4] Again, their bodies have to be enshrined for being worshipped by the people. So, in their cases, which are rare, burial is resorted to.

1 "Three years in Tibet", p. 389.

2 Narratives of the Mission of George Bogle to Tibet (1774).. by Clements R. Markham, p. 122.

3 Bod-Youl ou Tibet p. 70. "L'incinération, très coûteuse vu la rareté du bois, n'est usitée que pour les personages de marque et pour les religieux" (Ibid, p. 268).

4 Bod-Yul ou Tibet, par. L. De. Milloué, p. 268.

3. Water-Burial. This is at times resorted to in districts, away from towns, where there are no proper conveniences for the exposure of the body, and where there are no vultures or dogs. In that case, they throw the bodies in the adjoining rivers or streams, wherein the bodies are soon disin tegreted and devoured by the fishes. The bodies are generally thrown in rivers and streams that are considered sacred, of which there are many. The body is generally cut into small pieces before being thrown into water. Even in case of cremation, they carry the ashes to these sacred rivers or streams and either place them on their banks or throw them into their waters.

4 Mummifying the body. This mode is employed very rarely, and that in the case of the Highest Lamas, the Dalai Lama or the Tashai Lama. Their bodies are embalmed and placed in shrines in their palatial monasteries where they are worshiped by thousands and tens of thousands.

5 Cannibalism. Patrophagie. According to some travellers, the Tibetans had at one time another peculiar mode of the disposal of the dead, which M. L. De Milloué terms Patrophagie.[1] It was a kind of cannibalism. They ate away the body of their departed ones, especially their parents. They believed, that the best place for the disposal of the bodies of their dear mothers and fathers was their own belly. They loved them so much that they considered it a pious filial duty to bury them in their own stomachs.[2]

It is said that, when the Mongols were devastating the eastern countries of Europe, the Pope sent in 1245 A. D., a person named Piano Carpini, as an ambassador, to the Great Khan of the country. The ambassador thus reported of the people of Tibet from what he heard: "The inhabitants of that land are pagans. They have a most astonishing or rather horrible custom, for when any one's father is about to give up the ghost, all the relatives meet together, and they eat him, as was told to me for certain."[3]

The Fransiscan monk Odorico, who travelled in 1328 A. D., in many of the countries of Central Asia,—and among them in the country of Tibet—said that the

1 "Après ces peuples-là sont ceux de Tebeth, dont l'abominable coutume était de manger leur père et leur mère morts, et pensaient que ce fut un acte de piété de ne leur donner point d'autre tombeau que leurs propres entrailles." Bod-Youl ou Tibet, p. 66.

2 M. L. De Milloué, in his Bod-Youl (p. 66), refers to Guillaume de Rubruquis, as describing this custom among the Tibetans in his "Voyages de Benjamin de Tudelle &c." p. 328, but he himself doubts its existence.

3. Quoted by Dr. Sven Hedin, in his "Trans-Himalaya," Vol. III, p. 312.

Tibetan priests cut off the head of a dead man and gave it to his son who made a drinking cup out of the skull and always drunk from it in memory of his father. Then the body was cut up and given to eagles and vultures, "who, like the angels of God, conduct the departed to the joys of paradise".[1]

Marco Polo thus speaks of the practice of cannibalism: "Those who operate miracles of this nature are persons of Tebeth (Tibet) and Kesmir (Cashmere), two classes of idolaters more profoundly skilled in the act of magic than the natives of any other country .....They are addicted, moreover, to this beastly and horrible practice, that when any culprit is condemned to death, they carry off the body, dress it on the fire and devour it."[2]

The present practice of using the skulls of men as drinking bowls, and especially as ceremonial bowls, in the Tibetan monasteries and of using human thigh bones as trumpets by the Tibetan Lamas, seems to be a relic of this very ancient custom of cannibalism. Rev. Kawaguchi, the Japanese traveller, says thus, even of the present Tibetans: They "may practically be considered as a kind of cannibals,"[3] because, in the midst of the process of cutting the dead bodies before giving them to dogs and vultures for being devoured, the persons who cut the corpse or the "priests prepare tea, or help themselves to baked flour, with their hands splashed over with a mash of human flesh and bones, for they never wash their hands before they prepare tea or take food, the most they do being to clap their hands, so as to get rid of the coarser fragments. And thus they take a good deal of minced human flesh, bones or brain, mixed with their tea or flour . . . . When I suggested that they might wash their hands before taking refreshment, they looked at me with an air of surprise. They scoffed at my suggestion, and even observed that eating with unwashed hands really added relish to food; besides, the spirit of the dead man would be satisfied when he saw them take fragments of his mortal remains with their food without aversion. It has been stated that the Tibetans are descendants of the Râkshasa tribe—a tribe of fiendish cannibals who used to feed on human flesh; and what I witnessed at the burial convinced me that, even at the present day, they retained the horrible habit of their ancestors."[4]

1 Dr. Sven Hedin's Trans-Himalaya, Vol. III, p. 125. Vide Appendix at the end of this paper, for the original from Odorić.

2 "The Travels of Marco Polo. Marsden's translation, revised by Thomas Wright (1904), p. 135

3 Three years in Tibet, p. 392.

4 Ibid, pp. 392-93.

I remember having met one day, when on a walking excursion to Rangaroong, about 8 miles from Darjeeling, two begging (भिक्षुक) lamas, carrying over their body all the paraphernalia of a monastery. When asked to pray for me with their musical instruments, one of them began to blow his trumpet (*kang-doung*) made of a human bone. On being asked, why he carried a human bone, he said, it was a bone of a pious lama, and that the souls of dead lamas were pleased when their bones and skulls were made use of by men, especially for religious purposes. According to M. L. de Milloué, they believe, that the more saintly the deceased lamas were, the more harmonious and loud is the sound made by trumpets made of their bones. [1]

According to the authority (Guillaume de Rubruquis), quoted by M L. de Milloué,[2] they like to have with them cups made out of the skulls of their parents and to drink from them, a custom which leads them to remember their parents in the midest of their enjoyments. From two such skulls, joined together, and with parchment attached to them, they also prepare drums (damarou)[3]

We see in the pictures of their gods, cups made of human skulls known as *thod-krag*. In connection with this matter, M. L. de Milloué[4] refers to the Scythians, mentioned by Herodotous, and says, that like them, they drank from the cups made out of the skulls. The Scythians made such a use of the skulls of their enemies and "of their own kith and kin if they have been at feud with them," [5].

1. Bod-Youl ou Tibet, par M. L. de Milloué, p. 67.
2. Bod-Youl ou Tibet, p. 66.
3. Bod-Youl ou Tibet, p. 67.
4. Ibid, pp. 67-68.

5 Rawlinson's Herodotus, Vol. III, p. 56; Bk. IV. 65. Ammianus Marcellinus speaks of the Scordisci that they were very cruel and drank human blood in human skulls (Ils étaent..... cruels.....buvant avec avidité le sang humain dans des cranes (Ammien Marcellin. Berlin edition of 1775. Tome III, p. 85. Bk. XXVII Chap. 4). Herodotus also speaks of an Indian "race called Callatians, men who eat their fathers" (Ibid, Vol II, p. 436. Bk. III, 38). He also speaks of "a tribe eastward of these Indians ..called Padæans, who are wanderers, and live on raw flesh .. If one of their number be ill, man or woman, they take the sick person. and if he be a man, the men of his acquaintance proceed to put him to death .. They kill him, and feast themselves on his body. So also if a woman be sick, the women, who are her friends, take her and do with her exactly the same as men...(Ibid. Vol II pp. 489-90. Bk. III 99). A similar custom existed among the Massagetæ (Ibid Vol. I. p 352. Bk. I, 216). The Massagetæ were "a great and warlike nation, dwelling eastward, toward the rising of the sun, beyond the river Araxes, and opposite the Issedonians" (Ibid I, p. 342. Bk. I, 201). "Human life does not come to its natural close with this people; but when a man grows very old, all his kinsfolk collect together and offer him up in sacrifice ; offering at the same time some cattle also. After the sacrifice they boil the flesh and feast on it ; and those who thus end their days are reckoned the happiest. If a man dies of disease they do not eat him, but bury him in the ground, bewailing his ill-fortune that he did not come to be sacrificed." (Ibid I p. 352. Bk. I, 216). Of a similar custom among the Issedonians, Herodotus says : "When a man's father dies, all the near relatives bring sheep to the house, which are sacrificed, and their flesh cut in pieces, while at the same time the dead body undergoes the like treatment. The two sorts of flesh are afterwards mixed together, and the whole is served up at a banquet. The head of the dead man is treated differently : it is stripped bare, cleansed, and set in gold. It then becomes an ornament on which they pride themselves, and is brought out year by year at the great festival which sons keep in honour of their father's death, just as the Greeks keep Genesia. (These were ceremonial observances at the tombs of the departed, annually, on the day of the deceased person's birth)." (Ibid Vol. III, pp. 22-23. Bk. IV, 26).

Strabo thus refers to this custom among the Massagetæ "They account the best mode of death to be chopped up when they grow old with the flesh of sheep, and both to be devoured together. Those who die of disease are cast out as impious, and only fit to be the prey of wild beasts. ("The Geography of Strabo. Bk. XI, Chap. VIII, 6. Translation by Hamilton and Falconer (1856) Vol. II, p. 247).

Strabo thus refers to the practice among the Derbices "Persons who attain the age of above seventy years are put to death by them, and their nearest relations eat their flesh. Old women are strangled, and then buried. Those who die under seventy years of age are not eaten, but are only buried (Bk. XI. Ch. XI, 8. Translation of Hamilton and Falconer, Vol. II p. 258).

Strabo thus speaks of the custom of the disposal among the Bactriani and the Caspii. "Those who are disabled by disease or old age are thrown alive to be devoured by dogs kept expressly for this purpose, and whom in the language of the country they call entombers.....Something of the same kind is related of the Caspii also, who, when their parents have attained the age of 70 years confine them, and let them die of hunger. This custom, although Scythian in character, is more tolerable than that of the Bactrians, and is similar to the domestic law of the Cei; the custom however of the Bactrians is much more according to Scythian manners" (Bk. XI, Ch.XI., 3. Ibid, p. 253).

1 "Journey to Lhasa and Central Tibet," p. 169.

6. Exposure.

As said above, the prevalent practice in Tibet is that of the Exposure of the bodies to vultures and dogs, and even to wolves, where vultures or dogs are not available. According to Rai Saheb Chandra Das Bahadur, in one place, "the corpses of the townpeople are fed to pigs, whose flesh, by the way, is said to be delicious[1]".

This mode can be divided into two parts. As said above, M. L. De Milloué speaks of these two parts, as if they were two separate modes. In fact, they are two divisions of the same mode. So, I will speak of this mode under these two heads :

(A) Exposure after Dissection

(B) Exposure proper *i e.* Exposure without Dissection.

(A) Exposure after Dissection.

I shall first speak of the Exposure after Dissection, on the authority of various travellers and scholars.

(a) Revd. Kawaguchi's account, as given to me in conversation.

I have collected the following information from the lips of Rev. Ekai Kawaguchi, whom I had the pleasure of meeting, on the 23rd of June 1913, at the Lhassa Villa of Rai Sarat Chandra Das Bahadur. During a part of the conversation on the subject, which was long, Rai Sarat Chandra Das Bahadur also joined us and explained some matters relating to the subject.

On the occurence of death, they consult a Lama for an auspicious day and hour[1] on which the body can be disposed of. The body is generally disposed of, at least three days after death.[2] But, if the day or days after the customary third day, is, or are, inauspicious, the body is kept in the house for even eight or ten days.[3] The country being cold there is no harm in keeping the body at home for a long time. The Lama is consulted as to whether cremation, ground-burial, water-burial or exposure was the most auspicious way for disposal. By looking to the horoscope of the deceased, he generally advises, that the process of exposure was the most auspicious. Again, before the removal of the body, the Lama puts down on a piece of paper the ceremonies that are to be performed by the relatives in honour of the dead[4]. The body is then taken to the funeral ground, which is generally on the rocky side of a mountain. The flesh-devouring birds generally abound there. They are fine greyish white birds. They are held sacred. They are believed to be incarnations of Dakini डकिणी (female celestial angels.)

The Lamas then perform some Buddhist ceremonies, wherein gestures and *mantras* (मंत्र incantations) abound. They are believed to carry the dead to a

1. *cf.* The Indian superstition of *panchak* (પંચક), which was prevalent at one time among some of the Parsee women of India also. Panchak (*i.e.* the period of *panch* or five) is believed to be a bad or inauspicious time. If a corpse is disposed of at that time, it is feared, that five persons of the family may die. To avoid that catastrophe, small packets of cloth were made and placed over the bier, under the belief, that each of the packets, (*dhingli* ધિંગલી) would represent a person; and so, the removal of 5 of these may avert the danger of 5 persons of the family being dead and carried to the Towers.

2. *cf.* The Parsee belief, that the soul passes away from the precincts of this world, three days after death.

3. Among the Ancient Irânians, the auspices or inauspices only depended upon the weather. If the weather was bad, the body was kept at home for several days.

4. *cf.* The once prevalent practice among the Parsees, *viz.*, that of the family priest telling to the officiating senior priest, at the *oothmna* ceremony on the third day, what ceremonies *i.e* how many Yazashnas, Vendidâds, Daruns etc. were to be performed during the course of the first year. This practice has now taken the stereotyped form of the "*lâkh bhanâvvi.*"

higher plane. The Lamas are believed to have some mystic power, by means of which, through their mystical incantations, they can send the deceased to higher planes. Whatever the case may be, the relatives are satisfied and consoled by these ceremonies. The Lamas are generally paid for their services, but the payment is not compulsory or obligatory. They get at least the dress of the deceased. The above ceremoney for the transfer of the soul of the deceased to a higher plane (*Sukhâvati* सुखावति), is called Poâ.

The body is then cut by a set of professional men, in the presence of the Lama and the relatives, the Lama saying the *mantras* during the process. These professional men are called Râgyoba. The Lamas help them in their work with their advice. The body is cut into very small pieces. The bones are crushed in the holes of the rock there. The brain of the deceased and a little *tsamba* (barley flour) are mixed with the pounded bones, to help their being devoured easily by the birds. It is only the hair that remain. When the whole of the body is eaten away by the vultures, the relatives get pleased and believe that the deceased has been received by God. They pay a certain fee, at the place of the exposure, for every body disposed of. This mode of the disposal of the body by vultures is more for those who are comparatively a little rich. The poor cannot afford any fee at this place. So, for them, the mode of disposal is that of exposing the bodies to dogs. These dogs, some of which are very ferocious, are kept away from the city by the police and by the people. The dogs do not require the body to be cut into small pieces. Large pieces do for them.

The poor, who are unable to afford the fee of the ceremonial at the place of disposal, generally perform all the ceremonies at home. They have no ceremonies at the burial place. They perform some funeral ceremonies on the 7th day after death, and do so seven times at the interval of every seven days. It is for one generation, at the utmost, that they perform the ceremonies after one's death.

(b) The account given by Rev. Kawaguchi in his Book.

I have given the above description of the mode of the disposal of the dead from my notes of my conversation with Rev. Kawaguchi. Since then, I have looked into his work, "Three years in Tibet," and find, that the description given therein,[1] is well nigh the same. I supplement my above account with some details that I find in the book. He says:[2]

(1) pp. 388-92.
(2) Ibid p. 388.

"In Tibetan funerals, neither a coffin nor urn is used in which to deposit the corpse. It is simply laid on a frame made of two wooden poles, with a proper space between and two cross pieces tied to them. The rectangular space thus described is filled in with a rough sort of network of ropes, and over the netting is spread a sheet of cloth for the reception of the corpse. Another piece of cloth, pure white in colour, is thrown over the corpse, and that completes the arrangement. The whole burden is then carried on the shoulders of two men, who insert their heads between the projecting ends of the two longer poles."[1]

On the subject of the vultures and the process of cutting the body, Rev. Kawaguchi gives the following details :

"In a small valley formed between two contiguous hills, stood a big boulder about twelve yards high. The top of this stone was level and measured about fifteen feet square. This was the 'burial-ground' for this particular kind of interment. On the summits of the surrounding hills, and even on the inaccessible parts of the rock itself, were perched a large number of vultures, with their eyes glistering with greed. They are always waiting there for 'burials.' When the bier was placed upon this rock, the white sheet was taken off, and the priest who had come, with the rest of the mourners and sympathisers, began to chant their texts to the accompaniment of drums and cymbals. At the same time one man approached the corpse with a broadsword, with which to 'dress' it. In 'dressing' the abdomen was first cut open and the entrails removed Next, all the various members of the body were severed, after which some other men, including a few priests, undertook the finishing work of final 'dressing', which consisted in separating the flesh and bones, just as butchers do with slaughtered cattle. By this time, the vultures had gathered in a flock round the place, and big pieces, such as the flesh of the thighs, were thrown to them and most voraciously did they devour them. Then the bones had to be disposed of, and this was done by first throwing them into one of the ten cavities on the rock, and pounding the heap with big stones. When the

1 These details about the bier remind us of the *gehân* 𐬌𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬥 𐬌𐬀𐬵𐬀𐬥 Vendidâd VIII, 10, Dastur Darab P. Sanjana's Pahlavi Vendidâd p. 140, l. 2.) among the Parsees, who have improved upon the method all along, and have from a sanitary point of view, avoided the use of wood and use iron. The two carriers are spoken of in the Pahlavi Vendidad as *rad* 𐬭𐬀𐬛 *i. e.* the leaders (of the corpse bearers). The word Sâlâr (سالار) *i. e.*, chief, used in the modern word, *nasâ sâlâr* for corpse-bearers, seems to be a later rendering of *rad*. One of the *rads* is to be at the head, 𐬭𐬀𐬛 and the other at the foot 𐬭𐬀𐬛.

bones had been fairly well pulverised a quantity of baked flour was added to the mass, and this daitny mixture was also given to the birds. The only things that remained of the dead body was the hair[1].....While the burial ceremony is going on, a religious service is also conducted at the house of the deceased, and when the ceremony is over, those who have attended it call at the house of the bereaved family, where they are feasted[2] by its members[3]."

(c) Dr. Sven Hedin's description.

The description, which Revd. Kawaguchi gives, is that of an eye-witness, who had himself attended a funeral and seen the whole of the cutting process. His description refers to the mode in Lhassa, the seat of the Dalai Lama. Dr. Sven Hedin[4] describes the mode as he had heard it. He himself had not seen a funeral. However, from his description and that of some other travellers, it appears that, though the mode was the same, *viz.*, that of exposure before flesh-devouring animals, yet the details differed in different places, and, at times, even in the same place. For example, according to Dr. Sven Hedin, in the cemetry of Shigatse, at Tashi-lumpo, the seat of the Tashi Lama, in some cases, the body was cut into parts and in others it was not cut but only skinned. He says at one place :

"A cord fastened to a post driven into the ground is passed round the neck of the corpse, and the legs are pulled as straight as possible—a feat requiring great exertion in the case of a lama, who has died and become rigid in a sitting posture. Then the body is skinned, so that all the flesh is exposed ; the Lagbas[5] utter a call, and vultures which roost around come sailing up in heavy flight, pounce down on the prey, and tear and pluck at it till the ribs are laid bare. There are no dogs here as in Lhasa, and even if they were, they would get no share in the feast, for the vultures do their work quickly and thoroughly. We afterwards visited convents where sacred dogs were fed with the flesh of priests. The Lagba sits by while the vultures feed, and these are so tame that they hop unconcernedly over the man's legs."[6] In this description, we see that the body is not cut by the professional men,

1 For an illustration of the process of cutting the body, *vide* Revd. Kawaguchi's "Three years in Tibet," p. 391.

2 Among the Parsees, upto a few year ago, it was customary to invite those who attended the funeral procession and went with it to the Tower, to a solemn feast on the *châharum* or the fourth day. This custom is still prevalent, to some extent, in an old town like Naosari. The Zoroastrians of Persia also have a kind of solemn funeral feast.

3 "Three years in Tibet". pp. 390-93.

4 Trans-Himalaya, Vol. I, pp. 375-78.

5 i.e., the professional cutters.

6 Trans-Himalaya, Vol I, p. 377

but only skinned. After the flesh is devoured, the skeleton and brains are pounded into a paste and the mixture is thrown before the birds. Dr. Sven Hedin refers to this mode in his "Central Asia and Tibet[1]" also.

(d)Francis Horace Della Penna's description.

Francis Horace Della Penna thus describes the Tibetan mode :

"They consult the Chokhiong as to what hour the dead man must be carried to one of the places set apart for the remaining rites,...and when they have arrived, they celebrate other rites, placing the naked corpse on a great stone. Then a professsed scholar, taking for himself all the clothes, breaks the corpse to pieces with a great bar of iron, and distributes it among the dogs in presence of all the company. After the mastiffs are satisfied, the relations of the deceased gather up the most clean-picked and the largest bones, and make a bundle of them, throwing all that is left by the dogs into the neighbouring river, near which are the places set apart for this inhuman rite . . . . The relations carry the above-mentioned bundles of bones home. They hang them up in the room where the deceased was, and there for many days they employ monks to pray and sacrifice for the departed, that he may not suffer in his transmigration. . . . . On the anniversary of the death, the relations and friends, with the monks who were invited, grind to powder the above-mentioned bones, and carry them to the river. . . . . The corpses of some nobles, with the permission of the Supreme, or Vice-Grand Lama are burned. . . . . Those of the monks and nuns are carried to the mountain tops as food for the birds of prey. The giving of the corpses to the dogs is done as an act of charity, so that after death they may be useful to the living. Those of the monks are given to birds, because they believe that the monks transmigrate into birds and other flying creatures, on whom they confer acts of charity by giving them the flesh of their own bodies. And this is all that can be told briefly respecting so prolix and intricate a subject as that contained in the confused chaos of Tibetan Law."[2]

(e) L. De Milloué's account

According M. L. De Milloué, all the above process of cutting the body is resorted to in big towns, where many people live, but not in the country. He says ; " In the country, one does

(1) "Central Asia and Tibet. Towards the Holy City of Lassa "(1903) Vol II p. 492.

2. "Brief Account of the Kingdom of Tibet by Fra Francesco Orazio Della Penna Di Billi (Narratives of the Mission of George Bogle to Tibet and of the Journey of Thomas Manning to Lhasa, by C. R. Markham. Appendix, pp. 339-40.)

not take so much of precautions. One simply exposes the body in the open air on some rock and leaves to the carnivorous animals the care of giving them the burial. As for the poor, who can neither pay the corpse-bearers nor purchase the prayers of the clergy, their dead are simply thrown into the river. A corpse is never buried save when an epidemic of small-pox prevails."[1]

(f) G. Bogle's account

George Bogle thus speaks on the subject:

"The body is carried to a neighbouring mountain, and being cut and beat in pieces, is left to be devoured by the wild beasts. I went to visit one of these sepulchral mounts, and expected to find it like a charnel-house. Eagles, ravens, and hawks hovered over us; but not a vestige of mortality could I see. At length I was shown the spot where the body is laid, and could observe some fresh splinters "[2]

(g) Mr. W. Woodville Rockhill's account.

Mr. Rockhill's account tells us one new thing, as to how the vultures break the bones of the corpses. He says : " In this part of Mongolia all corpses are exposed on the hillsides to be devoured, but strangely enough I have never seen any skeletons. The Chinese and Mongols say that vultures are able to eat the bones, which they first break by carrying them to a great height and then letting them fall."[3]

(h) SaratChandra Das's Account.

Lastly, I give Rai Sarat Chandra Das Bahadur's description of the mode, which is fuller and which specially interests us from a Parsee point of view, because, it gives some details that remind us of several Parsee customs. He says[4] :

" The cessation of the pulse and the suspension of breathing are not considered tests of the extinction of vitality. The Tibetans consider that the spirit (*nam she*) usually lingers in the mortal frame for not less than three days[5], though the spirits of those who have attained to some stage of holiness quit the

1. Translated by me, from Bod-Youl ou Tibet, pp. 71-72.

2. George Bogle "Narratives of the Mission of George Bogle to Tibet (1774) and of the Journey of Thomas Manning to Lhasa," by Clements R. Markham, p. 122.

3 " Diary of a Journey through Mongolia and Tibet in 1891 and 1892," p. 152.

4 Journey to Lhasa and Central Tibiet, pp. 252-255.

5 It is this old idea that seems to have originated the ancient Irânian belief, that the soul remains within the precincts of this world for three days, and then, on the morning of the fourth day, crosses over to the other world.

body immediately after the last breath has been drawn, for communion with the dwellers in Paradise, called *Gadan* or *Tushita*; but instances of such saintly personages are of very rare occurrence. It is consequently considered a very sinful action to move or dispose of the corpse immediately after death. Nowadays in Tibet and Mongolia the dead bodies of all classes of men are carefully kept within doors for three days, during which time their friends and relations attend on them and make prayers for their future well-being.[1] On the morning of the fourth day, the horoscope of the deceased, and that of the man who is selected to be the first to touch the corpse for removal are consulted. A lama is employed to perform certain funeral ceremonies, with a view to cause the spirit of the deceased to pass out through a certain slit in the skull. If this ceremony is omitted the soul will make the exit by some other passage and go to a state of damnation. The lama remains alone with the corpse, all the doors and windows being closed and no one is allowed to enter until he declares by what passage the soul has fled. In return for this important service he receives a cow [2], yak, sheep, or goat or a sum of money, according to the means of the deceased.

Before the dead body is removed from the house, an astrologer notes the dates of birth of the friends and relations present. If any among them were born under the same constellation and planet as the dead person, they are said to incur the risk of being ridden by his ghost, [3] and are consequently not allowed to attend the funeral. The astrologer also receives his reward in money or kind. Then the corpse, tighly wrapped in clothes, is placed on a stretcher facing the direction which has been declared auspicious by the astrologer, and is placed in

1 Cf. The Parsee custom, even now prevalent in a place like Naosari, the head-quarters of the Parsee priesthood. For three days, during the five *gâhs* or periods, friends and relations go to the house of the deceased and say prayers for the good of his soul. In busy centres like Bombay, nowadays it is only the priests who say the prayers. They are paid for them.

2 Cf. The Parsee custom of *gâe bhandvvi* (ગાય ભણાવવી) *i.e.* to announce a cow. It seems, that formerly a cow was given to the family priest on the third day, at the *Oothamna* ceremony, but nowadays, the gift is made in money, though the pharseology used still speaks of a cow. It was thought that this was a Hindu custom taken by the Parsees in India. But it appears also to be a custom of Central Asia.

3 Cf., the superstition of *panchak* (પંચક) referred to above Cf. also the words heard, at times, even now, from Parsee ladies at the time of a funeral, *viz. mitho gâlo mukjo,* (મીઠો ગાલો મુકજો) *i.e.*, "let there be a sweet interval", meaning thereby, that there may be a long deathless interval between the present death and the next death. The words are addressed to the spirit of the deceased that it may cause that interval to occur.

a corner of the house. Five butter lamps[1] are lighted near the head, and a screen[2] is drawn round it, within which his usual food and drink, together with a lamp are placed. Early on the morning of the day appointed for the disposal of the body, it is carried to the nearest cemetery. At the time of its removal the relations make profound salutatiens[3] to it Two men[4] carrying wine or tea, together with a dishful of *tsamba*, follow the bier. The family priest, or lama, of the deceased throws a *khatag* on the litter and walks behind at a slow pace,holding a corner of another scarf tied to it.[5] As he proceeds he mutters funeral *mantra*,[6] turning a hand drum[7] (*damaru*) with his right hand, and with his left ringing a bell. It is inauspicious to place the litter on the ground before its arrival at the cemetery.[8] If by accident this should happen, the body

1 The Parsees have the custom of lighting one lamp of clarified butter. The number 'five' of the Tibetan lamps reminds us of the abovementioned superstition of the panchak (*i.e.* the group of five.)

2 The Parsees draw round the spot, where the dead body is temporarily placed, a *kasha*. (Vide my Paper on "The funeral ceromonies of the Parsees, Their origin and Explanations", p. 7. Vide the Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay of 1891. Vide my Paper, entitled "The Kashas of the Iranian Barashnum and the Boundary Lines of the Roman Lustrum" in my "Anthropological Papers" pp. 330-339. Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay Vol. VIII. No. 7, pp. 520-30).

3 Cf. the salutations among the Parsees, known as *Sîjda* (سيجدهٔ كردن). Vide my above paper on "The Funeral Ceremonies," p. 15.

4 We do not know, whether 'two' men go for mere convenience or whether that number is enjoined. If enjoined, the injunction reminds us of the Parsee custom, wherein, the corpse bearers and the mourners follow the corpse in pairs of two.

5 This Tibetan practice reminds us of the Parsee custom, in which the corpse-bearers throw a piece of lace (નાડ) across the bier and hold the ends in their hands, forming what is known as *paivand* (پيوند) *i.e.* connection. Similarly the family priest and other priests also follow in pairs, holding a piece of lace as *paivand* between them. (Vide my Paper on "The Funeral Ceremonies," p 63).

6 Cf. the Parsee custom, wherein two priests follow the bier reciting the Avesta Mâthra. This is the recital of the Ahunavaiti Gâthâ.

7 For the Zoroastrians of Persia, Prof. Khodayar Sheheryar Dastur says: "Formerly it was the custom to call, so to say. a Zoroastrian band party, composed of a player on a hautbois and two drummers to play the funeral anthem in front of the procession. (Vide his paper on "The Funeral Ceremonies of the Zoroastrians in Persia).

8 Among the Parsees, it is considered improper to place the bier on the ground anywhere before its arrival at the Tower of Silence. As reported in the Jam-i-Jamshedof 2nd June 1914, at a meeting of his parishioners, Dastur Kaikobad Adarbad of Poona, while speaking on the difficulties raised by the military authorities of Poona in the matter of the road to the Tower. said, that the dead body, once removed from the house can neither be placed on any ground along the road, nor carried back to the house. ("રવાનને જો અટકાવે તો નીચે પણ ન મુકાય અને પાછું ઘર આગળ પણ લઈ ન જવાય"). The first seems to be prohibited from a religious point of view, so that a fresh piece of ground may not be polluted by the corpse being placed on it; the second from the point of view, that it is inauspicious to bring back a dead body into the house.

must be disposed of at that spot, instead of in the cemetery.[1] In the neighbourhood of Lhasa there are two sacred cemeteries, Phabongka and Serashar. Those who dispose of dead bodies at the former pay two or three *tanka* for tea to the monks of Phabongka monastery; and at the latter they pay one *tanka* to the cemetery keeper, who also gets the bedding and clothes of corpses.

"In every cemetery there is a large slab of stone, on which the corpse, stripped of its coverings, is placed face downwards. The officiating lama then crosses it with lines, and while repeating *mantras*, cuts it in pieces. The first pieces are flung towards the biggest and oldest vulture of the flock, called *tankar*, and the remainder to the rest. They are so tame that they come one by one at the call of the priest. Last of all the head of the corpse is crushed, and the bones pounded together are mixed with the brain and distributed among the vultures. Then a new and unused earthen bowl, filled with fire of *argol* (dried cowdung), with some butter and barley flour burnt in it as incense, is presented to the departed by being placed in the quarter towards which he is supposed to have gone. The funeral attendants now wash their hands,[2] and retiring to a short distance from the cemetery, breakfast,[3] and at about midday return home. During forty-nine days after the drawing of the last breath, food and drink[4] are offered to the departed in his favourite dish; and incense[5] consisting of barley, butter and juniper spines, is burnt.

"During this period of *bardo*, as the interval between death and regene-

1 Rockhill refers to the same belief when he says: "The dead body is put on a frame and dragged away by a horse; if it falls off, it is left to be devoured by wolves and vultures or else it is burnt." (Journey through Mongolia and Tibet, p. 152.)

2 *Cf.* the *Pâdyâv* or *Pâdyâb* (*i.e.* washing with water) ceremony of the Parsees. *Vide* my Paper on "The Funeral Ceremonies of the Parsees", p. 18.

3 According to Prof. Khodayar Sheheryar "The undertakers are fed with bread, wine and arak" in the Zado Marg. Vide his Paper on "The Funeral Ceremonies of the Zoroastrians in Persia."

4 *Cf.* the *Satum* ceremony of the Parsees wherein prayers are recited before a tray of daily meals and fire, especially on the 4th, 10th, 30th and the anniversary days after death.

5 *Cf.* The Parsee custom of *lobân mukvun* (લોબાન મુકવું) *i.e.* placing or burning incense while remembering the dead. *Vide* my Lecture in Gujarati on યજશાનની અને અરીા ફરોહરના યાદમાં લોબાન મુકવાનો રેવાજ *i.e.* "The custom of burning incense in honour of God and the Holy Farohars (My Lectures and Sermons on Zoroastrian subjects, Part I, pp. 218-225).

ration is called, the departed spirit is believed to wander, and in order to prevent its being subject to misery, on the forty-ninth day, some of the clothes, shoes, head dress, coins, etc, which belonged to the deceased, after being washed and sprinkled with saffron-water, are presented to some incarnate lama, for his blessing.[1]....

"The cutting up and distributing of a corpse is a practical illustration of the Tibetan belief that charity is the highest of all the moral virtues. That man is said to be most virtuous whose funeral is attended by the largest numbers of vultures, while if his corpse attracts but a small company, the very dogs not deigning to touch his defiled remains, he is judged to have led e sinful life."[2]

1 *Cf.* Chardin (Voyage en Perse. Tome VIII, p. 380), who says that in Isphahan, the Persian Zoroastrians place by the side of the corpse, bottles of wine, pomgrenades, earthenware cups, a knife and some utensils. But, he very properly adds, that since they live under the yoke of a hostile religion, it is difficult to distinguish such customs from those enjoined by the old religion. Chardin's description of the Persian mode of disposal throws some light on two controversial questions of the 18th Century among the Parsees of India. (*a*) The Persian custom says that the legs of the corpse were crossed. (*b*) The corpse had no padân (patidâna). (Les jambes croisées l' une sur l'antre et le visage découvert, Ibid p. 380). For these controversial questions, vide Mr. B. B. Patel's article in K. R. Cama Memorial Volume, pp. 170-82. Among the Zoroastrians of Persia according to Mr. Khodayar Sheheryar Dastur, "a pair of scissors is kept upon the bosom of the dead" (Vide his paper on "The Funeral Ceremonies of the Zoroastrians in Persia in the Sir Jamsetji Madressa Jubilee Volume).

Cf. The Parsee custom of presenting *Sudrehs* or sacred shirts to the priests and to the poor on the third day after death. Compare also the practice of presenting to the family priests, suits of clothes, known as *Sidv*, after their being consecrated in religious ceremonies in honour of the dead (*Vide* my paper on "The Funeral Ceremonies of the Parsees", p. 35). If Anquetil Du Perron's account be correct, at one time, the Parsees made the presentation of clothes on the day of the disposal of the dead. While describing the ceremonies at the Tower, he says, "Les parens font l' *Ascho-dad*, en donnant des habits ou de l'argent à un Mobed pur, á un juste qui est dans l' indigence" (Zend Avesta Tome II, p. 585.)

2 *Cf.* The statement of Agathias about the belief of some of the ancient Iranians: "Whosoever's corpse, however, was not directly consumed up, of him the Persians believed that he had led an impure life in unrighteousness, and gone over to the evil spirit, and on that account would be thrown in hell, and it was bewailed by his connections that no better lot befell him. He, however, who was consumed away the most speedily was prized by the Persians as lucky, and they called his soul the best and the most godlike, and anticipated of him that he would succeed in ascending up to the good land above." (Agathias's statement, as referred to by Max Duncker in his "History of Antiquity" Vol. II, 2nd edition pp 292-99. Vide "The Zoroastrian Mode of disposing of the dead, translated from Duncker by K. R. Cama p. 15).

Compare also Chardin's version of the superstitious belief of some in Persia. According to this traveller, if a bird first attacked the right eye of the corpse, that was a good omen for the future welfare of the deceased in the next life and of his living children in the present life. A priest, who watched the process from a crevice

(B). Simple exposure without Dissection.

After referring to the above mode of exposing the body before vultures and dogs, when cut into small pieces to help its quick despatch, M. L. De Milloué, refers to simple exposure, wherein the body is placed before the dogs and vultures without dissection. He says of this method that it resembles the Parsi funeral, and is very economic, though less expeditious. It is practised in Tsang, where there is no previous dissection. He describes this method, in the words of Turner.

Mr. S. Turner's description.

Mr. Turner's description,[1] as given by M. L De Milloué,[2] resembles the Persian mode to a very great extent. His description refers to Tashi Lampo. He says:

"I have seen near the monastery of Tèchou- Loumbo (Tashi Lampo), the place where the Tibetans ordinarily place their dead. It is a sufficiently large charnel-house situated on the extremity of an absolutely perpendicular rock, and surrounded on other sides by high walls, which undoubtedly have been constructad, to save to the living, the disgust and the horror, which the view of the objects shut up in the place may cause them. They have left the centre altogether open, so that the birds of prey can enter there. In the bottom, there is a narrow and low passage, by which dogs and other voracious animals enter. From an eminence, which the rock forms on one side, there advances a platform, which they have constructed in order to be able to throw easily the corpses in the charnel house. There, the only duty, which they render to the dead, is to place them in a manner by which they can very quickly become the prey of flesh-eating birds and of devouring dogs." According to this description, the place resembles somewhat our modern Tower of Silence.

—from a crevice lest he may not frighten the birds—raised a cry of joy, if the process began with the right eye, and the relatives present joined in the expression of joy. If the bird attacked first the left eye, all became sorry. Chardin admits that many Persian Zoroastrians denied this superstition, (Voyages en Perse, Tome VIII pp. 381-82). This description of Chardin reminds us of the custom in Bombay, that, when the body is put into the Tower and the door closed, one of the attendants,—he need not be a priest—who watches the whole affair, clapps his hands to inform the relatives and friends who have gathered together at some distance from the Tower, that the body is disposed of in the Tower. Then all simultaneously recite the concluding portion of the Srosh-bâj. Perhaps, Chardin misunderstood some custom like this, or mistook the superstition of a few to be general.

1. Embassy to Tibet, Vol, II p. 96. As Turner's book is not to be had in Bombay, I give my translation from the French of M. L. De Milloué.

2. Bod-Youl ou Tibet, p. 71.

We have described all the known methods of disposal resorted to in Tibet, more or less, now or previously. Of all these, Expousre is the most common. In this mode also, Exposure after Dissection is preferred to simple exposure. M. L de Milloué says: "The mode of funeral considered the most pious and the most honourable by the people of the middle class is Dissection" "(*i.e.* Exposure after Dissection).[1]

I will conclude this account of the Tibetan mode of disposal with short accounts of the Tibetan (*a*) corpse-bearers (*b*) dogs (*c*) and vultures (*d*) and of their time of disposal.

(a) Tibetan corpse-bearers

As to the professional corpse-bearers, we read as follows in Dr. Sven Hedin's Trans-Himalaya:[2]

"The dead lama in a new costume of the ordinary cut and style is wrapped in a piece of cloth and is carried away by one or two of his colleagues; a layman is borne on a bier by the corpse-bearers. These are called *Lagbas*,[3] and form a despised caste of fifty persons, who live apart in fifteen small miserable cabins in the village Gompa-sarpa. They are allowed to marry only within the guild of corpse-bearers, and their children may not engage in any other occupation but that of their fathers, so that the calling is hereditary. They are obliged to live in wretched huts without doors or windows: the ventilators and doorways are open to all the winds of heaven and all kinds of weather. Even if they do their work well they are not allowed to build more comfortable houses. It is their duty also to remove dead dogs and carcases from Tashi-lumpo, but they may not enter within the wall round the convent. If they have any uneasiness about their soul's welfare, they pay a lama to pray for them. When they die, their souls pass into the bodies of animals or wicked men."

As to the way in which the dead are carried to the place for disposal, it seems, that it is not always that they are carried on a bier in the way Rev. Kawaguchi speaks of. According to Col. Waddell, at Lhassa itself, at times "a man carries the dead body doubled up in a sitting posture and tied in a

(1) Bod-Youl ou Tibet, p. 268. vide also p. 70.

(2) Vol. I p. 376, Chap. XXIX.

(3) Rai Sarat Chandra Das Bahadur speaks of them as Rogyabas or Ragyabas. Vide his "Journey to Lhasa and Central Tibet", pp.. 47, 63, 163-64, 169. For a picture of a Tibetan funeral procession, vide p. 164. "They believe that if a day passes without a death it portends evil to Lhasa" p. 164.

piece of tent or blanket, deposits it on a recognised place on a rock, and then he and the attendant Lama proceed to cut off the flesh in pieces, so that the vultures and ravens can devour it."[1]

(b) Corpse-eating Tibetan dogs.

According to M. L. deMilloué, the flesh-eating dogs smell death, as it were, and gather near the house of a dead man and then follow the corpse. He says (I translate his words) :

"These dogs are, it appears, so much accustomed with these mournful feasts, that they wander in numbers round about the houses where they smell death and follow the funeral processions of which they form a death cortege."[2]

In this mode of the disposal of the dead, the dogs are, like the vultures, the scavengers of Nature. They are so in other ways also. Rev. Kawaguchi says: "In Jangthang I used to have four or five dogs beside me whenever I retired for private purposes. You can well imagine how terrified I was at first, though I soon got accustomed to them. And no sooner had I gone away than the dogs devoured the excrement. For this reason there is little or no filth lying about in Jangthang."[3]

(c) Tibetan Vultures.

Of the vultures of Tibet, I heard at Darjeeling, that they would only touch the bodies of the dead. Even a small child, if living, is never touched. When they find a body lying dead on the road, a large number go together before it. The elder of them approaches the body at first, and if it finds it dead, touches it with its beak. This is a signal for the rest to begin. The Tibetans, among themselves, speak of this older bird as a Lama-bird. What they mean is, that, as a Lama is a leader of the many ordinary Tibetans, so, this leading elderly bird is, as it were, a Lama among the other birds. These birds are, held to be sacred. According to Rockhill, the Lamas dislike their being shot, as "they are *quasi* sacred, being the last, though temporary, resting place of most deceased lamas."[4]

(d) Disposal at night.

Among the Tibetans, the body can be disposed of at night also. Dr. Sven Hedin says: "No one follows the corpse to the home of the vultures when it is carried out of the house at night

(1) Lhassa and its Mysteries, p. 422.
(2) Bod-Youl ou Tibet, p. 71.
(3) Three years in Tibet, pp. 264-65.
(4) "Journey through Mongolia and Tibet," p. 95.

to be cut up before the sun rises. There is no legal regulation, and when the bodies are numerous, the sun has generally risen before the work is finished. After that, one, or at most two, of the corpses are left till evening and are taken in hand after sunset."[1] Among the Parsees, according to a regulation as given by the Vendidâd,[2] a night-disposal is prohibited. There, exposure to the sun is strictly enjoined (*aêtem kehrpem hvarê dareçim kêrênavân*). If that is not done, the culprit is punishable.[3]

II

POINTS OF SIMILARITY BETWEEN THE TIBETAN MODE AND THE IRÂNIAN MODE.

Having described, at some detailed length, the Tibetan mode of the disposal of the dead, we will now examine the ancient Iranian mode as described in the Vendidâd and as practised by the modern Parsees. We will first speak of the points in which both the modes agree, and then of the points of the Tibetan mode which throw some side-light on some of the questions of the Iranian mode referred to in the Vendidâd and elsewhere. We will also mark some of the points, in which the present mode is an improvement over the old method. As to the subject of similarity, I will speak here on some very broad points of agreement in the matter of the disposal of the body. On some minor details, which present some points of comparision, I have spoken above in my footnotes on Mr. Sarat Chandra Das's account.

A Tower of Silence in modern Persia.

In the matter of the comparison of the Irânian and Tibetan modes, at first, one must bear in mind, that the modern Tower of Silence[4] in India is a somewhat later development, though we see traces of it in the Vendidâd.

1 Trans-Himalay, Vol. I, p. 378.
2 Vendidâd II, 14. Vide also VIII, 4.
3 Vendidâd V, 13-14.
4 For the origin and meaning of the words "Tower of Silence," vide my Paper, entitled "Bombay, as seen by Dr. Edward Ives in the year 1754 A. D." (Journal of the Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society Vol. XXII, No. LXII. Article XVIII, pp. 281-84.). Though we find, that the word 'Tower' has come to be used here in English latterly, Chardin speaks of it as a *tour* or Tower in his "Voyages en Perse" (Tome VIII, pp. 96, 354. *Tour ronde* p. 378).

(a) Mr. Khudâyâr Sheheryâr Dastur's account.

I learn from my friend Mr. Khudâyâr Sheheryâr Dastur, B. A., who has been long in Persia and who belongs to the family of the Dasturs of Yezd, that even now, in Yezd, the older Tower of silence is somewhat different from the Bombay Tower.

Firstly, it is a large open space, far away from the town, enclosed and divided into two parts. In one part, the body is placed on the rocky ground to be devoured by the birds. The other part forms as it were the *astodân* or the bone-receptacle. At some regular intervals, the professional corpse-bearers go to the place and remove from the first part of the ground the bones left after the disposal of the flesh and place them in the other part.

Secondly, the enclosures of these Towers have no entrance. The corpse, on being taken to the enclosures of the Towers, are lifted up the wall by the corpse-bearers who climb up the wall by means of ladders and then lowered down on the other side. The corpse-bearers then get down into the enclosure and place the body at the proper place. In Chardin's time, "there was a cemetery, half a league from Isfahân, consisting of a round tower 35 feet high, without any doorway or entrance. Here the Guebres deposited their dead by means of a ladder, and left them to be devoured by the crows, which were to be seen in large numbers about the place."[1]

(b) Chardin's Account.

Chardin says that the place was named *gombeze lala* (*gumbed* ou *goumbéz lâlâ*) and the Mahomedan Persians spoke of it as "*Dakme Guebron*." He says: "Ce cimetière n'a point de porte pour y entrer, mais au dedans il y'a, le long du mur, en tournant, de grosse pierres enfoncées à quatre pieds de distance l'une de l'autre, par où les prêtres de cette religion descendent dans le sepulcre, après s' être guindés sur le haut du mur par une très longue échelle.[2]" In another place he says: "Trois ou quatre de leurs prêtres montent avec des échelles sur le haut du mur, tirent le cadavre avec une corde et le font descendre le long.[3]" On the sanitary cleanliness of this mode Chardin says: "J'admirois qu'il n'y sentit point mauvais."[4]

(c) Classical Writers' Account.

We learn from some Classical writers, that the above was the arrangement of the place of disposal even in Achæmenian times. For example, according to Diodorus (XVII, 71), the

1 George Rawlinson's Herodotus, Vol I, p 279. n. 6. 2 Voyages en Perse, nouvelle édition of 1811. Tome VIII, p. 96. 3 Ibid Tome VIII, p. 379. 4 Ibid p. 380,

so-called graves of the Achæmenian kings in the mountain of Persepolis were cut out in rocks. "These graves had, however, no entrance of any kind; and the coffins were hoisted up and brought into the heights by machinery. This report has its confirmation, in the fact, that just the visitors to the sepulchre of Darius, were...obliged to be pulled up by ropes.[1]"

To the above description of the graves, given on the authority of Diodorus, Duncker adds the following observations: "These graves of the Persian Kings, at Persepolis and Nakshi Rustem, might have been burying grounds, Dakhmas, in the sense of the Vendidad, upon which the corpse of the rulers were exposed, on the summits of mountains, to the sun, the birds, and the dogs; similar to the resting-places of the Parsees at Bombay; and in effect such appear to have been Dakhmas, since mere empty chambers with openings on the top have deen discovered behind the facades."[2] This is somewhat similar to what one reads about the Tibetan mode in the account of Mr. Turner.[3] The row of dogs sculptured on the rocks at the places of the Dokhmas, in more than one place, points to the use of dogs as well as birds in the mode of the disposal.[4]

Points of Similarity.
1 Main principle same.

Coming to the points of similarity, firstly, we see, that the modes agree in the main principle *viz.*, that the body should be allowed to be devoured by flesh-eating animals. The Tibetans submit the bodies to dogs and vultures. Even wolves and pigs at times devour the body. The modern Parsee method places the body before vultures only, but, one knows from the Vendidâd[5], that in ancient Iran, the body was devoured by dogs as well as by vultures. The Iranian mode formed the second of the two sub-divisions, in which the Tibetan Exposure can be divided according to M. L. De Milloué—*viz.*, (*a*) Exposure after Dissection and (*b*) Simple Exposure without Dissection. Other travellers and writers do not make this distinction and division. However, if we do not make this distinction, we find that the Iranian method is, as it were, an improvement in this, that it has no dissection in its process.

1 Max Duncker's Account of the Zoroastrian mode of the disposal of the dead in his "History of Antiquity" Vol. II, 2nd edition, pp. 392-99; translated by K. R. Cama, pp. 6-17.
2 Ibid p. 18. 3 Vide above 4 Mr. Cama's above Translation p. 17.
5 Chap. VI. 45-48; VIII 10.

2. Exposure in sequestered places.

In both the communities, the exposure is generally made in sequestered places. The Vendidâd enjoins that it should be on an elevated place (*barezishtaêshvacha paiti gâtushva*)[1]. Revd. Kawaguchi, while describing the mode, says, that its place was "in a small valley formed between two contiguous hills" and on "a big boulder about twelve yards high."[2] The Irânian mode made it a *status quo non* that the body should be exposed to the sun (havaré-darshné).

3. Fastening of the corpse.

In both, the corpse is generally to be fastened to something. For the case of a body that is not to be cut into pieces before being exposed to the animals, Dr. Sven Hedin says: "A cord fastened to a post driven into the ground is passed round the neck of the corpse, and the legs are pulled as straight as possible.....Then the body is skinned, so that all the flesh is exposed; the Lagbas utter a call, and vultures which roost around come sailing up in heavy flight, pounce down on the prey, and tear and pluck at it till the ribs are laid bare."[3]

It is doubtful, whether, in Tibet, the body is fastened to help its skinning being properly done or to prevent the limbs of the body being carried away by the vultures. But, from the Vendidâd,[4] it is clear, that the fastening there is enjoined to prevent any parts of the body being carried away by the animals. There[5], it is said that the body may be fastened through the legs or the hair of the head with an iron or stone or lead pin or post, so that the bones may not be carried away by the devouring animals to adjoining waters or trees. The Dadistân-i-Dinik is equally clear. It says: After showing (the dead body) to the dog,.....they must carry the dead body early to a mountain or an elevated place and fasten in some way so that dogs and birds may not carry it to a watered, cultivated and inhabited place.[5]

4. Isolation of the corspe-bearers.

Among both, the corpse-bearers are asked to live as a separate class, away from contact with religious precincts or places. Of the Tibetan Rogyabas or Lagbas of Tashi Lampo, Dr. Sven Hedin

1 Vendidâd VI, 45.
2 Three years in Tibet, p. 390.
3 Trans-Himalaya, Vol I., p. 377.
4 Vendidad VI, p. 46-47.
5 Dadistan-i-Dinik, Text of Ervad Tehmuras, p. 40, Pursishn XVII, S. B. E., Vol XVIII, Chap. XVIII, 2.

says: They "form a despised caste of fifty persons, who live apart in fifteen small miserable cabins in the village Gompa-sarpa. They are allowed to marry only within the guild of corpse-bearers.....They may not enter within the wall round the convent."[1]

The Vendidâd[2] enjoins that the carrier of the dead (*irista-kasha*) should remain isolated. They must go through a ceremonial bath before touching others. They must keep themselves away from an inhabited locality, away from household fire, water, place of worship and righteous persons. Even now, in an old orthodox centre of the Parsees, like Naosari, which is the head-quarters of the Parsee priesthood, the corpse-bearers have a dwelling place, separate from that of other Parsees. In public festive gatherings, they are made to dine separately. They do not frequent places of worship like the fire temples. They do not even touch the priests, who officiate in the inner circle of the temple. They can do all these things after going through the ceremonial purification known as the Bareshnum.

5 The use and importance of dogs.

Among both, the Tibetans and the ancient Iranians, dogs played a very important part in the mode of the disposal of the dead. From what we read of the dog in Tibet, we are led to think, that possibly, also in the ancient land of Irân, where the custom of exposure, for which the injunctions of the Vendidâd were given, prevailed, the following state of circumstances existed:

The land abounded with dogs. Col. Waddell thus speaks of Lhasa: "The inhabitants of Lhasa have been pithily summarised as consisting of 'monks women, and dogs'."[3] The Avesta[4] speaks of a variety of dogs, like the Paçushaurva (*lit.* the protector of the cattle *i. e.* the shepherd watch-dog), the Vish-haurva (*lit.* the protector of the village *i.e.* the village watch-dog), the Vohu-nazga (*lit.* the dog that runs after blood *i.e.* the dog which devoured corpses), the Jazu, the Aiwizu, the Vizu, the Urupi, the Sukuruna, the Taûruna and the Vanghâpara. The very fact of the existence of a variety of dogs shows, that possibly, the land of ancient Irân also, to which the Vendidâd refers, abounded in dogs.

1 Trans-Himalaya, Vol. I, p. 376.
2 VIII 11-12. Vide also Chap. III 15-17.
3 "Lhasa and its Mysteries", p. 345. 4 Vendidad XIII, 4 et seq.

Again, some of them especially the watch-dogs ("Çunãm yim paçush-haurva, vish-haurva" of the Avesta[1] . . .), were very large animals. Col. Waddell[2] says, "The watch-dogs chained up at the doors of the houses gave us a fierce reception. They are huge Tibetan mastiffs—'the mastiff dogs' of which Marco Polo writes, 'as big as don keys, which are capital at seizing wild beasts'."[3] Further on he says: "The well-cared-for mastiff of the houses was usually a fine beast with a huge lion-like head and mane, often with a white breast patch, suggestive of a bear, and such frequently were called 'Bear'; other favourite names for them were 'Bull-Bear', and 'Supreme Strength'."[4] As the country abounded with dogs, travellers often carried with them a "charm against dog-bite "[5]

Similarity in details, in the matter of dogs.

Coming to some details in the matter of dogs, we find the following practices common to a certain extent in both.

(*a*) Dogs used to devour the corpses

In the present mode of the Parsis, the corpse is not presented to the dog for being eaten. But it appears from the Vendidâd[6], that in ancient Irân, it was so at one time. As dogs are not utilized in the present method, some thought, that they were not so used in ancient times, and that the word "Shpâna or Sunô", used in the Vendidâd for dogs, was not really meant for 'dogs' but for some dog-featured birds. But, from the present practice of the Tibetans, and even of the Mongolians and some other people of central Asia, such a supposition seems to be wrong; and it seems that, at one time, even in Irân, dogs also devoured the flesh of the corpses.

(*b*) The bodies of dogs disposed like those of men.

Not only were the dogs utilized in the disposal of the corpses, but their dead bodies also were in turn disposed of, to a certain extent, like those of men. Among both, the corpse-bearers had to remove from the town, corpses, of men as well as dogs. According to Dr. Sven Hedin, "it is their duty also to remove dead dogs and carcasses from

1 Vendidâd XIII, 8-9.

2 Lhasa and its Mysteries, p. 89. 3 "They have dogs of the size of asses, strong enough to hunt all sorts of wild beasts." (Travels of Marco Polo. Translation of Marsden, revised by Wright (1904)., p. 222).

4 "Lhasa and Mysteries", p. 423.

5 The Buddhism of Tibet or Lamaism by Dr. Waddell, p. 406.

6 Chap. VI, 45-48; VIII 10 et. seq.

Tashi-lunpo"[1] According to the Vendidâd,[2] the mode for the disposal of the body of a dead dog, is, as far as sanitary rules are concerned, the same as that for the body of a dead man. Both, if long kept in the town after death, may be a source of danger to the health of the living.

(c) Dogs followed the funeral procession.

Among both, the flesh-eating dogs followed the corpses with the funeral procession to the place where the body was finally disposed of. M. L. De Milloué says of the Tibetan dogs, that they, as it were, smell death (ils sentent la mort) and gather round the house where death takes place and then follow the corpse with the funeral procession.[3]

The Vendidâd[4] enjoins, that a dog shall accompany the funeral procession from the house. His passing over the road, by which the body is being carried to its last place, purifies, as it were, the road. The *sagdid*, of which we will speak later on, in which a dog is made to look at the dead body at home several times, seems to have some connection with the custom herein enjoined. In the mofussil towns outside Bombay, the dog is still carried to the Towers from the town itself, though not necessarily with the procession. The above statement of M. L. De Milloué about the Tibetan dogs' smelling power, when compared with the above injunction of the Vendidâd, seems to throw a side-light on the question of the origin and object of the *sag-dîd* among the Parsees.

(d) Dogs held to be *quasi* sacred.

Among both, the dogs were sacred to a certain extent. There is one thing in the Vendidâd which appears very striking to us. It is that of a great regard for the dogs.[5] The mode of the disposal of their bodies was, to a certain extent, like that of men.[6] Again, those who maltreated them were enioined to be punished.[7] Why was it so? It appears from what we read of the Tibetan dogs, that, in Irân, dogs were held well-nigh sacred, because, (*a*) they were faithful sentinels, looking after, not only the flock and herd of the old pastoral Irânians, but also after their person and property,

1. Trans-Himalaya, I p. 376.
2. Chap. VIII. 1 et. seq.
3 Bod-Youl ou Tibet, p. 71.
4 Chap. VIII 14-18.
5 Vendidâd XIII, 20-28, 45. 6 Vendidâd V, 39-40, VI 1-9. 7 Vendidâd XIII, 2-16; XV, 3-5, 20-43, 50-51.

and (*b*) because they did all the scavengering work of the town, devouring, not only their decomposing corpses, but also, perhaps, as mentioned by Revd. Kawaguchi, the excreta. So, any diminution of their number was a source of danger to their lives and properties. Imagine what a strike of the *halalcores* would be to a modern Indian town, and then you can easily imagine what the diminution of the number of dogs—the scavangers of nature—would have been to old Irânian towns. (*c*) They were specially bred for the purpose. Duncker on the authority of Cicero (Quest. Tuscul I, 45) says as follows: "In Hyrcania, (a part of ancient Irân), even the people maintained in common, and the aristocrats each for himself, an excellent species of dogs, in order that they might be of service, in devouring their bodies after their death, and this they esteemed as the best mode of disposing of the dead. Eusebius (praep. evangel, p. 277) announces that the Medes used to cast the dying before very carefully nourished dogs."[1]

The dogs are held somewhat sacred in Tibet also. Some monasteries are said to have a number of sacred dogs attached to them and they are used for the bodies of the Lamas. Dr. Sven Hedin speaks of having visited "convents where sacred dogs were fed with the flesh of priests".[2]

6. The importance of the third day after death.

Another thing that strikes us about the Tibetan custom of the disposal of the dead is, that they generally dispose of the body on the third day after death, sometimes later, but never earlier. According to Raî Sarat Chandra Das Bahadur, "the Tibetans consider that the spirit (*nam she*) usually lingers in the mortal frame for not less than three days. . . . It is consequently considered a very sinful action to move or dispose of the corpse immediately after death. Nowadays in Tibet and Mongolia the dead bodies of all classes of men are carefully kept within doors for three days, during which time their friends and relations attend on them and make prayers for their future well-being. On the morning of the fourth day the horoscope of the deceased, and that of the man who is selected to be the first to touch the corpse for removal, are consulted"[3] Dr. Sven Hedin says that "the corpse of a

1 "The Zoroastrian mode of disposing of the dead," translated by K. R. Cama, from the German of Max Duncker's "History of Antiquity" (Vol. II, 2nd Edition, pp. 392-399) pp. 14-15.

2 Trans-Himalaya, Vol. I p. 377.

3 Journey to Lhasa and Central Tibet, p. 252.

Lama lies in his cell for three days".[1] Revd. Kawaguchi also says that "generally a funeral is performed on the third or fourth day after death, the interval being spent in observances peculiar to Tibet."[2]

This seems to be an old Central Asian practice. This practice seems to me to be somewhat connected with the Iranian custom, which believes that the soul of the dead remains within the precincts of this earth for three days and nights and hovers over his head (*asné vaghdhanât nishhidhaiti*)[3] and then crosses over to the other world on the fourth day[4].

III

SOME SIDE-LIGHT THROWN BY THE TIBETAN MODE UPON THE IRANIAN MODE.

List of subjects in the Iranian mode, on which some side-light is thrown by the Tibetan mode

From what is related above, about the Tibetan mode and the customs and beliefs accompanying it, and its similarity in some points to the Irânian mode as enjoined in the Vendidâd and practised at present, we find that some side light is thrown upon some questions connected with the Irânian Mode. The following are those questions.

1. The Irânian prohibition against the custom of carrying a corpse for disposal on the shoulder of a single corpse-bearer.

2. (*a*) The isolation of a corpse-bearer who carried a corpse singly and (*b*) the dissection of his body on death, due to the great dread of infection among the Irânians.

3. (*a*) Why the *sagdid i e.* the custom of letting a dog see the corpse before disposal was observed, and (*b*) why the dog was held to be an important and sacred animal.

4. Strict prohibitions against (*a*) ground-burial, (*b*) water-burial, (*c*) cremation, (*d*) cannibalism, (*e*) and mumification.

5. Strict injunctions against the Daêvas.

1 Trans Himalaya, Vol. I, p. 376.

2 Three years in Tibet, p. 388.

3 Yasht Fragment XXII, 2

4 Vendidad XIX, 28 Vishtâsp Yasht, Chap. VIII, 55 (Westergaard, p. 311. Zend Avesta, par Darmesteter Vol. II, p. 681); Hadokht nask (Westergaard Yasht Fragment XXII, 7); The Minokherad Chap. II, 114. The Dadistan-i-Dinik Chaps. XX, 2. Viraf-nameh Chap. IV, 15; XVII, 2.

1 The Iranian prohibition, that the corpse be never carried by one person.

The accounts of the Tibetan mode show, that, at times, even one corpse-bearer carried the dead body on his shoulder, "doubled up"[1] like a bundle. The Vendidâd,[2] on the other hand, enjoined, that never should a man carry a dead body alone (*Mâ chish barô aêvô yat iristem*). The reason assigned for this prohibition is, that the Daruj-i-naçush or the Demon of Infection is, in that case, likely to attack the person carrying the body alone. If one person carried the dead body, he had to do so on his shoulders, and so, he ran the risk of being quickly infected by what flowed from the nose, eyes, mouth, ear and such other parts of his body (*naçush raêthwât nâoghanat hacha, chashmanat hacha, hizumat hacha, paitish kharênât fravâkhshat hacha, frash umakathacha*).[3]

2. Isolating a corpse-bearer who carried a corpse single-handed, and dissecting of his body on death.

The above-mentioned point seems to me to throw some side-light on the extreme rigour, enjoined in the Vendidâd[4], (*a*) for isolating the person who carried a corpse alone and (*b*) for dissecting his body after death and before disposal.

(*a*) By his rash act of carrying a dead body alone and of thus risking his life by infection, a corpse-beacer risked the lives of others of the village or town where he lived, by the possibility of spreading the infection among them. So, extraordinary strong precautions had to be taken for his isolation. He was to be isolated in a solitary place, where food and all the requisites were to be provided to him from a distance by others. His strict isolation seems to have been intended, not only as a safety against infection of others, but also as a kind of punishment to him for his very rash and negligent act of risking the lives of many.

(*b*) Not only was he isolated, but the mode of the disposal of his body on death, or on approach of death, differed a little from that of others. His head had to be cut off[5] first and then his body had to be given to the birds to be devoured.

1. "Lhasa and its Mysteries," by Col. Waddell, p. 422.
2. Vendidâd III, 14. (3) Ibid.
4. Chap. III. 15-20.
5. Vendidâd Chap. III, 20.

Again, his body had to be given to a special bird or vulture, named Kahrkâs. This bird is not mentioned in the description of the ordinary disposal of other bodies, but is mentioned here alone. It seems, that the bird Kahrkâs,[1] was one that had the powerful stomach of devouring the whole body *i.e.* all the parts of the body including the bones, so that no part of the dead body may be left, even for a short time, with any likelihood of spreading infection.

Again, we see from this passage, that, though the Irânian mode was an improvement on the old mode of central Asia of which the Tibetan mode is a relic, in this, that it did away with the preliminary process of dissection once prevalent, it preserved and practised the process of dissection in some extreme cases, either, as means of extraordinary precautions against infection, or as a kind of prohibitive punishment. The body of the corpse-bearer who had run the risk of infection, was not to be treated like that of ordinary persons. When on the point of death, or when dead, his body was to be skinned by strong intelligent bold persons who knew well how to do it. The skin being removed, the rest of the body was to be given away to a special class of flesh-eating birds, known as Kahrkâs, and not to dogs or ordinary vultures. All these, seem to have been enjoined for an extraordinary precaution against infection. The skin being the upper part of the body was supposed likely to contain some germs of infection; so, it was removed before the body was given to the special class of birds. It is said, that even now, the Tibetans are very much afraid of the havoc worked by the infection of small-pox. When an epidemic of that disease takes place, however much they like their method of exposure, they resort to burial.

Thus, I think, we understand from the present Tibetan mode, that the original object of the strict Irânian prohibition against the removal of the body by one corpse-bearer, instead of by two, was the dread of infection.

The dread of Infection among the Iranians

The ancient Persians seem to have had a great dread for infected persons. We have another instance of this in the case of leprosy which was believed to be very infectious. They had an awful dread of it. The Avesta[2] takes it to be a very bad disease. Greek writers, like

1 P. کرگس a vulture

2 Âbân Yasht, 92; Tir Yasht, 56; Behrâm Yasht, 43; Vendidâd II, 29.

Herodotus[1] and Agathias, also refer to this fact. It is said of a Persian satrap Magabazus, that he escaped from the hands of his enemies, by pretending that he had an attack of leprosy. They preferred his escape to his arrest accompanied by the risk of infection.

The Vendidâd[2] seems to enjoin the dissection sometime before death *i. e.* when the corpse-bearer has become too old and weak and is likely to die. This seems to be due to the dread entertained of him, that being himself infected for life, on his death, if there be any delay in the disposal of his body, his already infected body may possibly spread more infection. Some classical authors refer to this custom of diseased old men being exposed to death when alive. For example, Strabo says of the Bactriani and the Caspii: "Those who are disabled by disease or old age are thrown alive to be devoured by dogs kept expressly for this purpose[3]."

It is this great dread of infection that seems to have been the object of the extraordinary isolation and exceptional dissection, before disposal, of the body of the corpse-bearer, who, carrying a corpse singly on his shoulder, ran the risk of infecting his body from what was emitted from the corpse on his shoulder, and who, thereby, becoming the centre of infection was likely to spread that infection among others. Perhaps, in those early times, this dread was not based on scientific or hygienic grounds on which we at present entertain it. But, as a matter of fact, it did exist. I think, the writers of the Health Laws of the Vendidâd, which seem to us to be very strict, even extraordinarily strict, wrote at a time or times when a kind of plague or epidemic prevailed in ancient Irân.[4] The several prayers or incantations in the 20th chapter of the Vendidâd against *mahrka* (modern *marki*) or plague point to suggest this assertion. If one remembers the dread and the panic spread

1. Bk. I. 139; Rawlinson's Herodotus Vol I, p. 278. cf. The Jewish dread of leprosy referred to in the Leviticus XIII; 2 Kings VII; St. Luke XVII.

2 III, 20

3 Strabo's Geography, Bk. XI, Chap XI, 3. Translation of Hamilton and Falconer, Vol. II, p. 253.

4. Vide my Lecture in Gujrati on the "The Zoroastrian precepts of preserving health and extirpating plague" (ત્રંદુરસ્તી જાલવવા માટેનાં અને મરકી દૂર કરવા માટેનાં જરથોસ્તી ફરમાનો). delivered under the auspices of the Trustees of the Funds and Properties of the Parsee Punchayet, on 24th September 1899, when Bombay was in the grip of the Bubonic Plague. Vide my Iranian Essays Part III, pp. 54 to 70.

among the people of Bombay during the first few years of the Bubonic plague (1896-99), and if one remembers the extraordinary strict orders and injunctions given at the time, both by the Government and by the Plague Committee headed by General Gatacre, a military officer of a high grade, he would have no reason to be surprized at the dread of the people against infection in those early times. Now, after several years' experience of plague, we are in a position to look with surprize and regret and even ridicule, the extraordinarily severe plague rules enjoined by the Government plague authorities in those times of panic—rules, some of which caused riots in the city. I give here an instance of personal experience. As the Secretary of the Parsee Punchyet, I had to get erected, and look after, about a dozen plague Health camps in different parts of the city and its subrubs. One of the camps was under the Medical Superintendence of an European Medical Officer of the Indian Medical Department. He directed that the inmates of the camp, who were not infected, but who had gone to the camp from infected houses or quarters of the city, should not go out of the camp for nine days, the supposed period of incubation. An outsider was to be appointed, who was to receive from a distance orders from the different families staying at the camp for their daily requirements from the markets. Thus, all outside communication was sought to be prevented. I had to protest against this severity and in the end that was given up. I give this as an instance of panic and dread of infection, even in our own times, and even among educated men; so that one need not wonder at the dread and panic prevalent in old times in Iran

3 The Sag-dîd.
(a)The Reasons for it.

The statement, referred to above, of M. L. De Milloué about the Tibetan dogs' smelling power, and their accompanying the funeral procession, when compared with the injunction of the Vendidâd[1], that a dog should be made to pass over the road over which a corpse has been carried, seems to throw some side-light on the question of the origin and object of the Sag-dîd[2] among the Parsees. Various explanations have been given for the origin and purpose of the Sag-dîd. I quote here, from what

1 VIII 14-22.

2 For the ceremony of the Sag-dîd, *vide* my paper, read before "The Anthropological Society of Bombay," on "The Funeral Ceremonies of the Parsees, their Origin and Explanation" pp. 8-10. Sag-did is the later rendering of the Pahlavi *kalaba namudan* (وكلبسب). Vide Dadistân-i-Dinik. Pursishn XVII, 2; Ervad Tehmuras's Text p. 40, l. 3; S. B. E. Vol. XVIII, Chap. XVIII, 2.

I have said on the subject in my Paper on "The Funeral ceremonies of the Parsees:"[1]

"It appears from the customs of several ancient nations that the dog played a prominent part in the funeral ceremonies of many ancient nations.

(*a*) "As in the Avesta, so in the Vedas, we have a mention of two four-eyed dogs guarding the way to the abode of Yama, the ruler of the spirits of the dead.

(*b*) "Among the ancient Romans, the Lares of the departed virtuous were represented in pictures[2] with a dog tied to their legs. This was intended to show that as the dogs watched faithfully at the door of their masters, so the Lares watched the interests of the family to which they belonged.

(*c*) "The people of the West Indies have a notion among them of the dogs accompanying the departed dead. Compare the following lines of Pope :—

'Even the poor Indian whose untutored mind
Sees God in clouds or hears him in the wind,
.....Thinks, admitted to yon equal sky
His faithful dog shall bear him company'

"As for the purpose why the Sagdîd is performed, several reasons are assigned.

(*a*) Some say that the spotted dog was a species of dog that possessed the characteristic of staring steadily at a man if he was dead and of not looking to him at all if life was not altogether extinct. Thus the old Persians ascertained by the Sagdîd, whether life was really extinct.

(*b*) Others, as Dr. Haug says, attributed the Sagdîd to some magnetic influence in the eyes of the dog.

(*c*) Others again connected the Sagdîd of a dog, who of all animals was the most faithful to his master, with the idea of loyalty and gratitude that must exist between the living and the departed ones.

(*d*) Others considered a dog to be symbolical of the destruction of moral passions. Death put an end to all moral passions So, the presence of

1 Ibid p. 9, note 13.

2 Cf. The row of dogs on the freize of the Iranian sculptures on some of the so-called tombs of the Achæmenian kings.

a dog near the dead body emphasized that idea. Cf. Dante's Divine Comedy (Hell C. I. ll. 94-102. Dr. Plumptre's Translation.) Here, the grey-hound is considered as the deliverer of Itlay. He is the symbol of the destroyer of the passions of sensual enjoyment, pride and avarice which are represented by the leopard, the lion and the wolf.

'For that fell beast whose spite thou wailest o'er,
Lets no man onward pass along her way
... ...
Many the creatures are that with her wed,
And will be more until the Greyhound come,
Who with sharp agony shall smite her dead.'"

(*e*) We have spoken above, of the two dogs in the abode of Yama, or the dogs in the Heavans. They are said to be the Canis Major and Canis Minor. In the constellation of the Great Dog (Canis Major) is the great star Tishtrya, known by its Greek name of Sirius and the moderen popular name, dog-star. In the constellation of the Little Dog is the star Procyon. They are said to be the dogs of the constellation of Orion. So, some say, that the Sagdîd is intended as a symbolism of the belief that the dead are to pass to the Heavans, watched by the heavanly dogs.

(*f*) The above explanation may suggest another possible explanation of the symbolism of the sag-dîd. It is enjoined in the Vendidâd that, the dead body should be exposed to the Sun (hvarê-dareçim kerenaot).[1] It is wrong or sinful not to do so.[2] Not only the body, but, when a closed *astodân* or bone-receptacle is not made, even the bones should be exposed to the sun.[3] Now, the body has to be retained at the house for some time before its final exposure to the sun and to the flesh-devouring animals. In the case of a country like ancient Irân, where snow-storms and other inclemencies of the weather prevented at times an immediate or early disposal, the body had to be kept at home for several hours or days. In that case, the exposure to the sun or to the open sky is not possible So, in that case, perhaps, as a substitute, the dog may have been substituted, because the dog represented the dog-stâr or Sirius (the Tishtriya of the Avesta),

1. Chap. V. 13-14 2. Ibid. 14. 3 Chap VI, 51.

which in its turn, by its great brilliancy, represented the sun. In fact the very name of the Dog-star (Tistrya), Sirius, comes from a Greek word (σειρ), meaning the Sun. Tishtrya or Sirius is represented in the Avesta as *dravô-chashmanem i. e.* the strong-eyed, and, as such, his invocation is repeated three times in the Khurshed Nyâish, a prayer in praise of Khurshed or sun, and in the Meher Nyâish, a prayer in praise of Mithra, the Yazata of light. We read there: "(*Tishtrim dravô-chashmanem yazamaidê i.e.*) We invoke the strong-eyed Tishtrya." Thus, in the Sag-dîd, the *chashma i.e.* the eyes (*dîd*) of the dog (*sag*) Canis represent those of the Tishtriya, the Dog-star, who, by its great brilliancy represents the sun, and who, for that reason, is invoked in the hymn in honour of Khurshed, the sun. One must remember in this matter, that illness and untimely death or plague (*mahrka*) are believed to be the result of a kind of Mithra-druji or a crime against Mithra, the God of Light[1] One can say, that this means, that they are held to be due to want of proper heat and light of the sun. Even leprosy was, according to Herodotus,[2] held to be the result of such a Mithra-druji or fault against the sun.

The most probable reason.

From what is said of the dog in connection with the disposal of the dead in Tibet, we are led to think, that out of the various six reasons given above, the first (a) seems to appeal to us. The correct explanation seems to be this: The dogs devoured the flesh of the dead. So, certain dogs were kept in certain large towns for the purpose. Some classical writers refer to this fact. For example Strabo, says of ancient Bactria that "they expressly kept for the purpose dogs whom in the language of the country they call emtombers.[3]" These dogs, as it were, smelt death. Therefore, they were, or at least one of them was, made to look at the dead, to enable them to know, that there was a prey ready for them and that they were to follow the corpse to do their work of devouring the body.

This view of the object of the sagdîd is confirmed and supported by the fact, that the Vendidâd[4] refers, not only to the sight of dogs (*sag-dîd*), but also to that

1 Meher Yasht, 110.
2 Bk. I 139
3 Strabo's Geography, Bk. XI, Chap XI, 3 Hamliton and Falconer's Translation Vol. II, p. 253.
4 Chap. VII, 3.

of birds. The later Irânian commentators[1] also say, that, in case a dog is not available for the *sag-dîd*, the body may be exposed to the sight of birds. Thus, it seems that the body was enjoined to be exposed to the sight of dogs or birds with a view to indicate to them that a prey was ready for them and to ensure that the body may be soon disposed of by them. In connection with this view it was possibly believed, that if the dogs or birds looked at the corpse eagerly, it may be taken as certain that life was extinct from the body, because it was the view of a prey being near at hand, that made them look eagerly at the corpse .

3 (b) The Dog, why held as a sacred animal.

The dog is held to be somewhat sacred among both, because he does the useful work of doing away with the dead bodies, which otherwise would decompose and endanger the health of the living. In addition to this fact, there may be the sentimental reason, that they are, as it were, the depositories of the remains of their near and dear ones and the would-be depositories of the living. According to some classical authors, referred to above, the aristocratic class bred special dogs for the purpose. Whatever the reason may be, one understands, why dogs are made so much of in the Vendidâd. There were several spieces of dogs and they were used for various purposes. Some were used as sentinels for men (vish-haurva), some as sentinels for the cattle (paçush-haurva), and some for this sanitary work. All these uses added to the value of the dog. Hence it is, that we find the 13th chapter of the Vendidâd appreciating the work of the dogs. A person, injuring or killing a dog, is held guilty and punishable. It is enjoined that the dog may be well cared for and fed. One has to take care of their young ones and to rear them.

The above long dissertation on the subject of the *sag-dîd* is intended to show, why dogs were held, sacred in ancient Irân. We have seen, that they are held sacred, to a certain extent, even now in Tibet.

1. Pahlavi Vendid VII, 2. *Vide* Dastur Darab P. Sanjana's Text, p. 108. Here are named birds, like وهمن (*dâlman*, Persian دال من black eagle), وسرغر (*sârgar*, Persian سارک a starling or a nightingale or سارنج or سار نگو or سارو or ساروج an Indian black bird, or ساروک a kind of talking bird or ساری the bird stare or starling), راسوسنز (rasâg, for which another manuscript has راسوسین râg-i-syâh where râg may be Pers. زاغ a crow; hence a black crow). It is said that if the *sayeh* سیوه (Pers. سایه) i.e. shadow of a bird falls over the corpse, that suffices as *sagdîd*.

4 Strict Prohibition against Burial, Cremation Cannibalism, Mummification.

From what we have seen of the various methods of the disposal of the dead, prevalent at one time or another or at one place or another in Tibet, we get some sidelight thrown on the question of the strict injunctions in the Vendidâd against the various modes of disposal, other than that of the exposure to the sun and to the flesh-devouring birds and dogs. The ancient people of Central Asia, who at one time lived with the people to whom the writers of the Vendidâd belonged, and from whom the Tibetans seem to have taken some of their customs, resorted more or less to the following methods, besides that of exposure to birds and animals.

(*a*) Ground-Burial.
(*b*) Water-Burial.
(*c*) Cremation.
(*d*) Cannibalism.
(*e*) Mummification.

The Iranians, when they differed from their fellow-people in Central Asia and separated from them, seem to have condemned, for one reason or another, or on one ground or another, these various modes. The condemnation of these methods was perhaps one of the reasons of the schism or separation. The separation was due, not only to difference in thought and belief, but also to difference in the matter of the observation of customs and manners. This explains, why we find in the Vendidâd not an ordinary prohibition, but a very strict prohibition, in very strong words and with threats of great punishments in the future, of the various modes other than that of exposure which they accepted as the only best mode. We will briefly examine this condemnation.

a. Injunctions against ground-burial.

The ground-burial is condemned in strong words in the Vendidâd in the following chapters: I. 13; III 8-9, 12-13, 36-39; VII 45-52. The very land where burial takes place is represented as displeased and shocked. The first place on the surface of the earth which is the most displeased is that of Mount Arezura,[1] a deadly volcano, which was taken to be the road, as it were, to Hell. The second place which is the most displeased is that, where both men and dogs are buried.[2] The place on which tombs of men stand comes next in order.[3] A man, who removes the buried corpses of dogs and men

1. Vendidad III 7. Vide my paper on "Mount Arezura of the Avesta, a Volcanic mountain," in the Spiegel Memorial Volume, pp. 188-96. 2. Vendidad III, 8. 3. Ibid 9.

from the ground, does a religious act. He thereby most pleases the ground.[1] A man who removes the tomb-structures is the next in the order of righteousness.[2] A man, who wittingly allows a corpse to remain buried in ground for a period of six months, is punishable. This fault and the consequent punishment increase if he allows that state to continue for a year.[3] If he allows it to continue for more than two years his sin is unpardonable. No religious punishments can cure his faults during his life. He must repent for the fault during his whole life-time.[4]

The ground on which a dead body lies long, before being properly disposed of, must not be used for some ordinary purposes for a year.[5] But, if the ground is one wherein a body is interred, then it must not be used for a period of 50 years.[6] In other words, the ground of a cemetery must not be utilized for other purposes, until after a period of 50 years since it ceased to be so used. But in case the place of burial is built over with tombs, one must wait longer for the use of the ground for other purposes. He must wait till he finds no vestige at all of any part of the body and till everything, *e.g.* even the bones and hairs, are reduced to dust.[7] Ahura-Mazda enjoins Zoroaster to remove the structures or tombs, because thereby, one helps an early decompositon and the process of reducing the body from "dust to dust." Any structure whatever round the interred body delays its speedy disposal.[8] If a man helps this speedy disposal, by removing the structure round and over a corpse, this act serves him as an act of atonement for some other sinful act.[9] A man who does the righteous act of removing a structure and of thus helping the corpse to be soon reduced to dust finds his life blessed and his way to Heavan easier. The Sun, Moon and stars bless him and, in the end, even Ahura Mazda blesses him.[10]

The tombs or the structures built upon the corpses are the abodes of Daêvas or all kinds of diseases.[11] There, the Daêvas (who, in such cases, are the disease-producing germs and substances) increase from fifty to hundread-fold, hundred to thousand fold, thousand to ten-thousand fold, ten-thousand to innumerable-fold."[12] As men feed on meat and grow in strength and number, so do the Daêvas (or the disease germs) live on the flesh of the dead bodies interred below the tombs and increase in numbers.[13] The stench from the decomposing bodies pleases the Daêvas.

1. Vendidâd 12. 2. Ibid 13. 3. Ibid 36-37. 4. Ibid 39. 5. Ibid VII 45-46.
6. Ibid 47-48 7. Ibid 49-50. 8. Ibid VII. 50. 9. Ibid. 51. 10. Ibid 52.
11. Ibid 55-56. 12. Ibid 56. 13. Ibid 57

Filth, scurvy, fever, ague and such other diseases grow over and around the decaying bones and hair. These complaints increase after sunset.[1]

We learn from all these references that ground-burial was strictly prohibited. In one place, the very religion—the Mazdayaçnian religion—is spoken of as one suppressing burial.[2] From the Vendidâd,[3] one can infer, that possibly, burial was not known at first in central Asia in pre-historic times. The first city or region, which introduced or began burial, was Harakhaiti (𐬵𐬀𐬭𐬀𐬑𐬌𐬎𐬀𐬌𐬑𐬌), which is Harauvati of the Inscriptions, the Sarasvati (सरस्वती) of the Sanskrit writers, and Arachosia of the Greeks, south of Cabul. Ahura Mazda had created it healthy and salubrius, or, as the Vendidâd says, beautiful (*srîrâm* 𐬯𐬭𐬌𐬭𐬀𐬨) in all respects, but, Ahriman introduced the burial custom in the city and brought about evil. This city is the tenth in the list of the 16 cities of Central Asia, named by the Vendidâd, as created by Ahura Mazda. So, it appears that burial came in use much later. We learn from Herodotus[4], Strabo[5] and Cicero[6] also, that burial was forbidden in ancient Persia.

b. Injunctions against water-burial.

From a health point of view, in Central Asia, water-burial is worse than ground-burial. There, the custom of water-burial has no seas or oceans to resort to, but rivers and streams, on which people generally depend for their supply of drinking water. The resulting harm may not be perceived by people, living in towns on the banks of great rivers, abounding with fish. But in the case of towns on smaller rivers and streams, it would work havoc in case of epidemics.

Thus we see, that the Irânians stood against the practice of water-burial, prevalent to a certain extent in Central Asia. Hence it is, that we find the strongest possible injunctions in the Vendidâd, against the practice of throwing any kind of filth, much more dead bodies, into rivers or streams. Ahura Mazda enjoined to Zoroaster, that if a Mazdayaçnân, while going on foot, or in a boat, riding a horse, or driving in a vehicle, saw a dead body in running fresh water, he ought to stop at once, remove his shoes, go into the water waist-deep, or as far as it is safe for him to go, and remove the decomposing body from the water.

1. Vendidâd 58. 2. Ibid III, 41. 3. Chap. I, 13.
4. Bk I, 140. Rawlinson's Herodotus Vol I, p. 279.
5. The Geography of Strabo Bk. XV Chap. III, 20. 6. Quest. Tusculanæ I, 45, as referred to by Max Duneker in his 'History of Antiquity" Vol II, 2nd edition, pp 392-399, translation of Mr. K. R. Cama, p. 15.

If the body was much decomposed and he was not able to remove it as a whole from the water, he was to remove the detached portions by handfuls.[1] In the case of the water of closed places like wells, it was enjoined, that, if convenient and possible, half the quantity of water, and if not convenient or possible, one-third or one-fourth or one-fifth the quantity of water, and especially the water round the spot where the decomposing body floated, should be removed before the rest of the water was used for drinking or culinary purposes.[2] Similarly, precautions have been ordered for frozen water or snow-water.[3] Even in the case of running waters, like those of streams, certain precautions are enjoined, which say, that the water of the stream may be used after the removal of the decomposing matter and after some time when the fresh currents have somewhat purified the water at the spot.[4]

All these injunctions were in the case of a dead body accidentally found in water. But, if a man actually committed the offence of throwing filth in water, he was condemned as the most unrighteous person.[5] Such offences brought about a kind of water-famine which marred the cause of agriculture. They were also believed to create the pest of a kind of insect known as *madhakha*, a kind of locusts.[6] The offenders are *darwands* (*dravants* or criminals) and the followers of Daêvas.[7] Herodotus[8] and Strabo[9] also refer to the sacred care, which the ancient Persians took, to keep the sources of water-suppply pure and healthy.

(c) Injunctions against Cremation.

The ancient Iranians, when they separated from the other people of Central Asia, gave up and condemned cremation which was prevalent there. If one follows the order of the creation of the known 16 cities of Central Asia as given in the Vendidâd, and examines one after another the evils that Âhriman is said to have created in them, he can say, that cremation came to be resorted to after ground-burial. Ground-burial seems to have been introduced by

1 Vendidâd VI. 26-29. 2 Ibid 30-35. 3 Ibid 36-38. 4 Ibid 39-41.
5 Ibid VII 25-26. 6 Ibid 26. 7 Ibid 27.
8 " They never defile a river with the secrations of their bodies, nor even wash their hands in one ; nor will they allow others to do so, as they have a great reverence for rivers.....The body of a male Persian is never buried until it has been torn either by a dog or a bird of pray." (Rawlinson's Herodotus, Vol. I, pp. 278-79 ; Bk. I, 139.)
9 " The Persians never pollute a river with urine, nor wash nor bathe in it ; they never throw a dead body, nor anything unclean into it." (Hamilton and Falconer's Translation, Vol. III, p. 137 ; Bk. XV, Chap. III, 16.)

Ahriman into Harakhaiti, the 10th city in the list[1], and cremation in Chakhra, a city of Khorasan, the 13th in the list.[2] Thus, we see, that possibly, Chakhra in Central Asia was the first place where cremation first came to be practised.

The injunction against cremation is given in several places in the Vendidâd. At one place, a man who carries a dead body to fire, *i.e.* who practises cremation, is in the matter of his fault, put on the same level as that of a man who practises water-burial.[3] He is impious. If one, while passing on foot, or sailing in a boat, or riding on a horse or driving in some vehicle, sees a corpse that is being burnt, he is to halt in his journey and to do his best to prevent further cremation. He is to scatter the burning fire, so that the further cremation of the body may be prevented as far as possible.[4] The fire is defiled in the process of burning the body. So, it would be meritorious, if one were to remove the fire, at least a part of it, from the place, and to purify it, as it were, by burning a fresh piece of wood by its flame, holding this piece over it at some distance. To purify the fire completely, this process must be repeated.[5] This purifying process is observed now in the case of preparing and consecrating the sacred fires of the fire-temples.[6] A man, who thus prevents the fire from being further polluted by burning a dead body, and who then purifies it as said above, is said to be doing a meritorious act, as good as that of feeding the sacred fire with ten thousand pieces of proper fuel-wood.[7] One-tenth of such a pious recompense is due also to one who prevents the fire from burning other filthy impure things.[8] His meritoriousness is equal to that of feeding the sacred fire with one thousand pieces of proper fuel-wood. We find in another chapter[9] also, that cremation is considered to be an impious act. Fire is enjoined to be kept away from filthy places and things[10] and even from persons supposed to be filthy or diseased for some time. If that is so, there is no wonder, that cremation as a whole is supposed to be an act of impiety.

We learn from Classical writers also, that cremation was not permitted in ancient Iran. According to Herodotus,[11] such an act was considered

1 Vendidâd Chap. I, 13. 2 Ibid 17. 3 Chap. VII 25-27.
4 Chap. VIII, 73-74. 5 Ibid 75-78. 6 Vide my "Religious system of the Parsees" pp. 26-28.
7 Vendidâd VIII, 81. 8 Ibid 82. 9 Ibid XVI, 17. 10 Patet 5
11 "Cambyses bade them take the corpse and burn it. This was truly an impious command to give" (Bk. III, 16. Rawlinson's Herodotus, Vol. II, p. 410).

impious. Strabo also refers to the ancient Irânian prohibition against cremation and says that one guilty of the offence was heavily punished by being put to death.[1] He adds, that the ancient Persians did not even blow on fire with a view not to pollute the fire by the breath of their mouth.[2] Nicholaus Damascenus refers to this prohibition.[3] It appears, that whereas burial was prohibited from the point of view of health and sanitation, cremation was prohibited from the point of view of reverence in which fire was held by the Persians.

(*d*) Injunctions against Cannibalism.

The Vendidad refers to cannibalism as a great offence. The offender is held to be very impious. He becomes unpurifiable (*ayaozdayân anghen*).[4] He is to be punished with the strictest possible punishment. The Avesta passage of the Vendidâd, which speaks of this crime, is not clearly intelligible. It is variously translated. But, we see from its Pahlavi translation and commentary[5], that the punishment is the most severe. The Sad-dar[6] refers to the Pahalvi translation and commentary, and on its authority, thus speaks for the punishment of a cannibal..." It is requisite to demolish the habitation, house, and abode of any one who has eaten dead matter, and to fetch his heart out of his body, and it is necessary to scoop out his eyes." In spite of all this physical punishment in this world, he is condemned to Hell. Some translators take the Avesta reference to the house being dug (*geredho kerataoscha*) and its Pahlavi rendering (*gristak karinashn*), in the sense, that he may be interred or buried alive. It appears from the Sad-dar[7] that some parts of a dead man's body were, at one time, prescribed as some kind of medicine or remedy (داارو و درمان)[8]. To mark the greatest severity of the punishment, one must know

1 Strabo Bk. XV, Chap. III, 14.
2 Ibid. "They do not blow the flame with their breath, but fan it; those who have blown the flame with their breath, or thrown any dead thing or dirt upon the fire, are put to death." (Hamilton and Falconer's Translation, Vol. III, p. 136).
3 Frag. 68, as referred to by Dr. Rapp in his article in the German Oriental Society's Journal Vol. XVII (1863) pp. 52-56, on "the Religion and Customs of the Persians and other Iranians." Translated by K. R. Cama, p. 22.
4 Vendidâd VII, 24. 5 Dastur Darab P. Sanjana's text p. 115. Dastur Hoshang's Text, p. 253.
6 Chap. LXXI. S. B. E. Vol. XXIV p. 336.
7 Chap. LXXI, 1.
8 Sad-dar Nasr. Text, edited by Ervad Bomanji Nasarwanji Dhabar, p. 51, Chap. 71.

that in the matter of scooping out the eyes, the Vendidâd speaks of the *spiti-doithra* (the white eyes *i.e.* the eye-balls) being drawn out. In the form of punishments through the eye, that of drawing out the eye ball (આંખના દ્વારા જોવી મહાડવા) is believed to be worse than that of destroying the eye (આંખ ફોડી નાખવી).

(*e*) Injunction against Mummification or Embalment.

One cannot point to any distinct injunction in the Avesta against embalmment. But, I think, we find strong indirect injunctions against the mode. For example, the Vendidâd[1] prohibits the unnecessary use of any cloth, even of the smallest size of a stocking, on a corpse. If one does make such a use he is guilty and liable to punishment. Now, in the process of mummifying after embalment, a large quantity of drugged cloth is necessary. Again, the very fact, that the Vendidâd prohibits all contact with the dead immediately after death, shows that the spirit of Zoroastrianism was against embalmment and mummification.

Why Iranians did not resort to Dissection

Of the different modes of the disposal of the dead, prevalent at one time or another in Central Asia, the relics of some of which we still see in Tibet, burial—both, ground-burial and water-burial—was greatly condemned by the Irânians from a sanitary point of view. Cannibalism was condemned as being unnatural, looking to the higher standard of civilization they had come to. Cremation was condemned on religious grounds, based on feelings of reverance in which fire was held, and on the ground of the necessity of preserving the bones in *astodâns i.e.* bone-receptacles or otherwise, for the coming time of Resurrection, when the dead are to be made to rise again from their bones.[2] I think this idea of preserving the bones came in among the Irânians not very early but a little later in the course of their advancement in civilization.

Dissection was done away with, when they separated from their fellow-brethren of Central Asia for several reasons, the main reason being a difference of religious views on many subjects. The Central Asian ancestors of the early

1 VIII, 23-25.

(2) Vide my Paper on Astodân or "A Persian Coffin said to be 3000 years old, sent to the museum of the Anthropological Society of Bombay, by Mr. Malcolm of Bushire"(My "Anthropological Papers" pp.7-23; Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay Vol.I, No 7, pp.426-41). Vide also my paper "on Mr. K. Enostranzav's, 'Paper on the Ossuaries and Astodans of Turkestan,' with a few further observations on the Astodan" (My "Anthropological Papers," pp. 295-306; Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay, Vol. VIII, No. 5, pp. 331-42).

Tibetans held the view, that the sooner every part of the corpse, including the bones, was devoured and destroyed, the better for the soul. As long as any thing or any part of the body remained, the soul did not enter with ease into the other world. To bring about that result, *viz.* an early destruction of every vestige of the body, dissection was necessary. On the other hand, the Irânians believed, that a part of the body, *viz.* the bones, must be preserved for the Resurrection. So, dissection was not necessary. Perhaps, with the advanced state of their civilization, sentiment also crept in and stopped dissection.

The Tibetan mode of Dissection had, and has, of course, one advantage *viz.* that every part of the body was eaten away soon by the dogs and birds, and no vestige of the body, likely to spread infection by being carried about by birds or dogs, was left. But, the Iranian Zoroastrians provided against this disadvantage by strict injunctions for preventing any careless scattering of bones. For example, the sixth chapter of the Vendidâd,[1] which refers to the disposal of the body, provides strict injunctions, that no fresh, wet or fleshy bones may be thrown away carelessly. If one threw away carelessly even the smallest bone *viz.* that of the uppermost tip of the last and smallest finger, he was liable to punishment.

5 Injunctions against the Daêvas.

The Vendidâd is replete with injunctions against the Daêvas In fact, the very word Vendidâd, which is originally Vi-daêva-dâta (jud-div-dâd) signifies, "that which is given against the Daêvas". *i.e* "the book which contains injunctions against, or for the destruction of, the Daêvas".

Now, who were the Daevas? "The word 'daêva' is a very ancient Aryan word for God, derived from the Aryan root 'div', 'to shine'. Most of the western nations which separated from the parent stock took with them this word in one form or another for the name of their God. Thus, the Greeks called their God, Deos or Zeus; the Romans, Deus, the Germans Teus; the Lithunians, Diewas, and so on. The Indian and the Irânian branches had the word 'daêva' But, when the early Irânians saw, that the belief of the people was tending to polytheism, and that the sacred word 'Daeva', instead of being used for God alone, was being used for many of His created objects. they stamped the word as unfit for the name

(1) Chap. VI, 10-25.

of God and rejected it altogether from the Avesta ".[1] Latterly, the word Daêva began to be taken in a broader sense. All evils, whether physical or mental, were taken as Daêvas. For example, we have the Daêvas of the different kinds of maladies.[2] We have the Daêvas of sloth, ambition, pride and all such mental disorders. Infection itself is, as it were, a Daêva. The Daruj-i Naçush itself, or the demon of decomposition and infection, which is said to run from the dead to the living, is, as it were, a Daêva.

From the fact of the practice of the disposal of the dead by Exposure being common to the Irânians and Tibetans, one is led to believe, that the near ancestors of the writers of the Vendidâd, the very ancient Irânians, and the remote ancestors of the modern Tibetans, who, at one time, before the introduction of Buddhism among them professed their ancient Bon religion, possibly lived at one place, or near one another, somewhere in Central Asia. The early Irânians did not like some of the then prevalent modes of disposal, some of which were insanitary and worked havoc in case of epidemics.

The modren Tibetans, who seem to be the descendants of the early inhabitants of some part of Central Asia, are still awfully dirty in their habits. The Bhutias, both male and female, whom you see at Darjeeling and on the frontiers of Nepaul, are well-formed and good-looking, but, they are very dirty. Even their monks or Lamas are dirty to some extent. According to Mr. Rockhill, the Lamas are " dirtier than the ordinary run of people."[3] Rev. Kawaguchi says on this subject: –"The Tibetans are very foul in their habits .. He (the Tibetan) does not even wash or wipe himself after the calls of nature, but behaves like the lower animals in this respect. To this there is no single exception, from the high priest down to the shepherd; every one does the same. I was, therefore, much laughed at and suspected when I followed the Japanese custom in this particular, and even the children would laugh at me.....Nor are these the Tibetan's only unclean habits. He never washes his body; many have never been washed since their birth. One would scarcely believe that they boast in the country, if not in towns or cities, of never having been washed.[4] "

1. Vide my " Religious system of the Parsees."
2. Vendidad XX 1-10.
3. "Diary of a Journey through Mongolia and Tibet in 1891 and 1892," by William Woodville Rockhill, p. 68.
4. Three years in Tibet, pp. 364-65.

Besides their physical uncleanliness, one learns from the writers on Tibetan scriptures and beliefs, that they were steeped in mental uncleanliness, if one could speak of their belief in demons and evil spirits as such. In spite of their recently introduced Buddhism, their ancient belief in demons and evil spirits, as taught by their ancient Bon religon, is still common. Looking to all these facts, one understands why the old Mazdayaçnism, which was preached at one time in some place near their home in Central Asia, condemned so much the Daêvas—the Daêvas of physical and mental uncleanliness. Thus, both, the habits and the beliefs of the modern Tibetans, seem to give us a picture of the habits and beliefs of their early ancestors in Central Asia, with whom and near whom the ancestors of the ancient Irânians also lived. One can then understand, why the Vendidâd is so much full of the rules of cleanliness and sanitation as then known, and why it is full of injunctions against the Daêvas both physical and mental. In short, the whole subject throws a side-light on the question, why the Vendidâd, or the book against the Daêvas, was held to be an important book for the good and advancement of the Irânians.

Hence, one can understand the object and purpose of the strict, one can say, awfully strict injunctions about the Health-laws of the Zoroastrians, as prescribed in the Vendidad. "Cleanliness is next to Godliness" is a homely proverb. But, as Prof. Darmesteter says, with the early Zoroastrians the proverb was, as it were, "Cleanliness is godliness itself[1]." One can thus understand the over-strict rules of physical *ashoi* or purity and of *Yaozdâthragiri i.e.* purification, referred to in the Vendidâd.

General Lines of Improvement in the Irânian mode.

From the consideration of all the above points, we find, that the Irânian mode of the disposal of the corpse by Exposure has been all along an improvement on the older methods of Central Asia, where the Iranians first lived—methods which have their relics among the Tibetans.

The improvement was in the following lines:—

1. Dissection before exposure was done away with by the early Irânians.
2. Exposure to the purifying rays of the sun was insisted upon.
3. Night funerals were replaced by day-funerals. (Vendidâd VIII, 4).

1 " Cleanliness est une forme même de Godliness" Le Zend Avesta II, Introduction, p. X.

4. In two different parts of the Vendidâd itself, we see traces of further improvements in the method of the Exposures itself. For example, in the 6th chapter (44-51), the original injunctions are the following :—

(*a*) The corpse must be placed on the most elevated place in the neighbourhood, where it can be clearly seen by the flesh-eating vultures and dogs.

(*b*) There, the body must be secured by being fastened to an iron stone or lead post or peg, so that the skeleton or remaining bones may not be carried away by the birds and dogs to adjoining streams or trees. The responsible person is held guilty, if he does not so fasten the corpse, and if, in consequence, the bones are carried away by the birds or dogs to adjoining streams, rivers or trees.

(*c*) After the flesh is eaten off by birds or dogs, the remaining bones are to be collected in an ossuary or bone-receptacle (*astodân*) made either of stone, or chunam or clay or cloth,

(*d*) The *astodân*, so prepared, must be placed on the ground exposed to the rays of the sun.

(*e*) It must be so placed, that dogs, wolves, foxes,[1] or other wild animals may not reach it and may not carry away the bones.

(*f*) Again, the bone-receptacle must be covered from above, so as not to let rain-water get in and destroy the bones.

(*g*) Then, in the 8th. chapter of the Vendidâd where we find another reference to the place for the disposal of the dead, it is enjoined, that the corpse must be placed on an elevated place, paved with clay or bricks or stone or mortar, where it can be clearly seen by flesh-eating birds or dogs. Here, we see an improvement in the original method referred to in the sixth chapter. Here, there is no question of necessarily fastening the body and placing on bare open ground on an elevated place. Instead of these details, a somewhat *pucca* arrangement, somewhat approaching that of the modern Tower is spoken of.

1 Dadistân-i-Dinik, Pursishn XVII; Chap. XVIII, 4; S. B. E. Vol. XVIII, p. 43.

APPENDIX.

I have give above the various versions of the Tibetan mode of the disposal of the dead. I give here one more that of Oderic who is alluded to in the body of the Paper. His verson is interesting, because he also speaks of the custom as observed by him among the Parsees of Tana (Thana).

The Version of Odoric of Pordenone.

Frior Odoric (1286-1331), who travelled in the East from about 1316 to 1330, and who was tebeatified in, so late as, 1755 by Pope Benedict XIV[1], while speaking of Tibet, thus refers to the custom: "And another fashion they have in this country is this. Suppose such an one's father to die, then the son will say, "I desire to pay respect to my father's memory"; and so he calls together all the priests[2] and monks and players in the country round, and likewise all the neighbours and kinfolk. And they carry the body into the country with great rejoicings. And they have a great table in readiness, upon which the priests cut off the head, and then this is presented to the son. And the son and all the company raise a chant and make many prayers for the dead. Then the priests cut the whole of the body to pieces, and when they have done so they go up again to the city with the whole company, praying for him as they go. After this the eagles and vultures come down from the mountains and every one takes his morsel and carries it away. Then all the company shout aloud, saying, 'Behold ! the man is a saint ! For the angels of God come and carry him to Paradise. And in this way the son deems himself to be honoured in no small degree, seeing that his father is borne off in this creditable manner by the angels. And so he takes his father's head, and straightways cooks it and eats it; and of the skull he makes a goblet, from which he and all of the family always drink devoutly to the memory of the deceased father. And they say that by acting in this way they shew their great respect for their father."[3]

Odorie had passed through India. He had first landed at Tana (Thana). In the latter part of the following description he seems to refer to the Parsees of

1 "Cathay and the Way thither" by Col. Yule. New Edition, revised by Dr. H. Cordier. Vol. II, (1913) pp. 116.

2 Cf. the Parsee custom known as *gamni pdedas* ગામની પાવડસ, wherein all the priests of the town or city are invited to attend the funeral procession, for which they are paid.

3 "Cathay and the Way thither" by Col. Yule revised by Dr. H. Cordier Vol. II. pp. 251-54.

Thana: "The people thereof are idolaters, for they worship fire, and serpents and trees also.....And here they do not bury the dead, but carry them with great pomp to the fields, and cast them to the beasts and birds to be devoured."[1]

1. "Cathay and the Way thither" by Col. Yule, revised by Dr. H. Cordier, Vol. II. pp. 114-17.

THE USE OF ROSARIES AMONG ZOROASTRIANS.

BY

Shams-ul-Ulma Dr. Jivanji Jamshedji Modi B.A., Ph. D.

Introduction. Of all the places, that I have visited during my travels, now and then, in India, no place had pleased me, or rather fascinated me, so much as Darjeeling, where, as said in a preceding paper, I had the pleasure of staying for about 5 weeks in May-June 1913. The fascination came, not only from the beautiful scenery and surroundings of the place with the grand and sublime snowy Himalayas in the front, but also from my frequent visits to the Tibetan *Gompas* or monasteries, from my conversation with their Lamas or Tibetan priests, and from my study of the Tibetan manners and customs as observed and studied there—studied from persons and studied from books. The Lamas and their monasteries, their religion and customs formed there the principal subject of my study.

The *álât* of the Tibetans. Their prayer-machines. In the Tibetan monasteries, next to the Lamas or the priests, their ritualistic apparatus or instruments, or if I were to use our Parsee ritualistic word, their *âlât* (آلات), drew my principal attention. Their *dorje*, which has given the hill station its name of Darjeeling *i. e.* the place of *dorje* (a sceptre-like instrument, symbolizing, at first "the mystic thunder-bolt of the Lamaist religion" and then, ecclesiastical authority) reminded me of our Avestic *vazra* (واجرَه) or Gurz.

The other principal articles or instruments that drew my attention there, were their Prayer-machines, the subject of which can be divided into three heads :

1. Prayer flags.
2. Prayar-wheels, which are also spoken of as prayer-cylinders, prayer-drums, prayer-mills and prayer-barrels.
3. Prayer-beads, or rosaries or chaplets.

I have spoken of these three kinds of the Tibetan Prayer-machines, at some length, in my three papers before the Anthropological Society of Bombay.[1] It is

(1) Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay, Vol X., No. 2.

the study of the question of the use of Prayer-beads or rozaries among different people, suggested by the Tibetan rosaries, that has led me to the study of the subject of this paper.

Rosary, a part of the ritualistic apparatus of many nations.

We know that rosaries form a part of the religious paraphernalia or ritualistic apparatus of many religious communities, such as the Hindus, Buddhists, Mahomedans and Christians.

Mr. G. Clarke Nuttall in his article, entitled "The Rosary and its History," says :

"It (rosary) is a link with the days behind History. Its origin is lost in the mists of the dawn of civilization in the far East, and though many now feel it is a hinderance rather than a help to their devotions, it has undoubtedly played a definite and real part in the chief great religions that have moulded the minds of men".[1] Mr. Nutttall refers to the use of rosaries among some religious communities, but says nothing of the Zoroastrians. But we know, that Zoroastrians, both of Persia and India, use it in some of their rituals.

The Origin of the use of rosaries.

The origin of the use of rosaries among various communities seems to be this:

1. Certain short prayers have to be recited for a number of times in the midst of long prayers. We Zoroastrians have to repeat certain small prayer-formulæ in the midst of larger prayers. For example, we have to recite 10 Ahunavars (*Yathâ Ahu Vairyô*s) and 10 Ashem Vohus in the midst of the Ormazd Yasht ; 21 Ahunavars and 12 Ashem Vohus at the end of the Patet; 200 Ahunavars and 100 Ashem Vohus in the recital of the Vendidâd. [2]

We do not know for certain, why one particular number is enjoined in one particular prayer, and another particular number in another particular prayer. We have the injunction to repeat certain prayers thrice. For this we can

1 "Great Thoughts". Issue of February 1911, p. 359.

2 These 100 Ashem Vohus and 200 Ahunavars are recited during the recital of the 22nd para of the 19th chapter of the Vendidâd. The subject, treated of in this part of the chapter, is that of the ceremonial purification of one who has become impure (*riman*) by coming into contact with an unclean thing *e.g.* a dead body. As one of the ways of purification, it is said, that the person may recite 100 Ashem Vohus and 200 Ahunavars. When the Vendidâd came to be recited as a part of the litugy, the officiating priest was directed to recite them.

safely say, that that was on account of the importance of the prayer, the object being, that its teaching or precept may be more strongly impressed upon the mind. For example, the Vispa Humata prayer, one of the most beautiful and instructive prayers, teaching the adoption of the best of our moral precepts, is enjoined to be repeated thrice, so that its precepts, may be impressed very vividly on our minds.

But, in the case of the repetition of certain short prayers for a large number of times, we are not in a position to give any particular reason, except the reason, that among the ancients, as observed in the case of the writings of Pythagoras, who is spoken of as a desciple of Zoroaster, numbers were believed to possess certain efficacy, and that they symbolized some truth.[1] But this is a case of the recital or the repetition in the midst of some, larger prayers. These repetitions are not many.

2. Then there is the case of the larger number of repetitions in the case of separate recitals, not connected with, or not occuring in, the midst of long prayers.

(1) For example, take the following explanation, on the subject of the use of odd and even numbers, given by a learned Indian writer. The dualism referred to in this explanation is interesting to a Parsee, the dualism in the speculative philosophy of whose prophet, has been a subject of much discussion among scholars, both ancient and modern, and has been a theme of writing for a learned author like Mr. Samuel Laing, in his "A Modern Zoroastrian." The explanation is this : There is the dualism of Spirit and Matter in Nature. "The duality of Spirit-Matter is discernible every where. It is an eternal fact ..The above might be mathematically illustrated by taking the odd numbers to represent *Spirit* and the even numbers *Matter*. Call the number One, the original Spirit, and the number Two, the primeordial Matter. One and Two make Three, their son, and Three is the highest form of Spirit after the Absolute. The number, corresponding to this Spirit, is represented by the number Four. Three and Four make Seven, and Seven stands for another grade of Spirit. The number Eight is the Matter that pairs off with this Spirit. And so on. It will be observed, that the odd numbers. Three, Seven &c. are each made up of an odd number joined to an even number, thus illustrating the fact that both spirit and matter are sub-divisible into spirit and matter." Thus, according to the view of this writer, in every object, there is both Spirit and Matter. He says further : "Science may talk of energy and mass, but these are simply alternative terms for spirit and matter—the one active, the other passive ; the one energic the other formative. When it comes to actual scrutiny of Nature, we cannot discover anything which is pure energy or anything which is pure enertia. The two are always inseparably united." According to this view, Heat, Light and Electricity, though not ordinary physical matter, are some kind of matter, "so much subtler than physical matter as to stand in the relation of a spirit towards the latter." Then, from this point of view, "neither matter nor spirit are independent realities. It is their union that constitutes a real existence. For this we need another name and the word *life* will serve the purpose. The union of spirit and matter constitutes life ; or life can be defined as spirit-matter. . . . And back of life stands Mind or Consciousness. Mind is, as it were, embodied in life ; and life is embodied in a physical form . . . Soul is said to be the vehicle of spirit, and matter the vehicle of soul" (Quoted by the Indian Daily News of 13th June 1913).

For example, take the later injunctions to repeat 1200 Ahunavars during the Gâthâ Gâhambâr holidays and 12 Ashem Vohus in the preceding five days.

A shortening-process in the recital of prayers.

In the case of the later injunctions for these numerous repetetions, what we see, at the bottom of the injunctions, is, what can be termed "a shortening process," observed in the case of many religious observances. Let us take the above case of the recital of the Ahunavars and Ashemvohus in the above mentioned 10 days—days known among us as the Farvardegân or Muktâd holidays. It seems, that, at first, it was enjoined that a good pious Zoroastrian must recite the five Gâthâs of Zoroaster, during the five Gâthâ Gâhambâr holidays—the first Gâthâ Ahunavad on the first, the Ahunavad Gatha holiday; the second Gâthâ Ushtavad on the second, the Ushtavad Gâthâ holiday, and so on. These five Gâthâ days, which come at the very end of the year, are spoken of in our later books as the *meh* or the great Farvardegân days, and the preceding five days are spoken of as the *keh* or the lesser Farvardegân days. It was enjoined that during each of the *keh* or lesser five days, a good pious Zoroastrian was to recite the chapter of the Yaçna, known among us as the *Frâ-mraot hâ*, because it begins with the woods *Frâ-mraot*. It is the 20th chapter of the Yaçna which is a commentary on the Ashem Vohu prayer. It appears further, that latterly, when it was found that there were many who did not know these *Gâthâs* and the *Frâ-mraot hâ* by heart, or even did not know to read them from books, the injunction was made a little easy, and it was enjoined, that those who could not recite or read the Gâthâs and the Hâ, might, in their stead, recite 1200 Ahunavars and 12 Ashem Vohus respectively. This was, as it were, the first step in the evolution of the shortening process. It further appears, that latterly, not only those, who, in this connection, may be termed the illiterate, took advantage of this fecility afforded by the priests, but also some of the literates, who saw that in this substituted process a little of their labour of reading the long difficult Gâthâs was saved.

The list of the number of Ahunavars to be recited in lieu of long prayers.

This shortening process, the process of substituting short prayers or prayer-formulæ in place of longer prayers, seems to have proceeded, latterly, further in the case of short and easy prayers also. The recital of a certain number of Yathâ Ahu Vairyos and Ashem Vohus was also permitted in the place of the recital of the daily prayers like

the Nyâishes. Here is a list of such prayers with their equivalents in the short formulæ as given by the later Persian Revayats.[1]

Names of the Prayers.	Number of times, the short prayers of were to be recited in their stead, when one did not know the long prayers by heart or did not know to read them.	
1. Khorshed Nyâish	103	Ahunavars
2. Meher Nyâish	103	,,
3. Mâh-bokhtâr Nyâish	65	,,
4. Atash-Nyâish[2]	65	,,
5 Ardviçura Nyâish	100	,,
6. Each of the five *gâhs* or prayers for the five periods of the day.	65	,,
7. Patet (The Prayer of Repentance)	121	,, and 12 Ashemvohus.
8. Ahura Mazda Yasht	103	,, and 10 Ashemvohus.
9. Ardibehesht Yasht.	65	,,
10. Sarosh Yasht Hâdokht	75	,,
11. Sarosh Yasht vadi (*i. e.* the larger Sarosh Yasht called here Sarosh Yasht-i-Yazashnê)	103	,,
12. Each of the Afringâns	121	Ahunavars and 12 Ashemvohus.

With the introduction of this shortening process, the rosary seems to have come into use. One cannot count accurately on his fingers the number of times he had to say these short prayers. So, the use of some counting apparatus or materials came in. Latterly, the shortering process went further, and people

1 I give these numbers from an extract of the Revâyat of Bahman Poonjyeh made in an old Persian manuscript, written in 1199 Yazdazardi, belonging to Ervad Manockjee Rustomjee Unwala. It contains in the commencement the Jamaspi in Persian verse. The second part of this manuscript contains various matters. In the matter of the efficacy of these recitals, the writer says (p. 6 of the 2nd part of the manuscript which is not numbered. The second part follows after some blank pages).

اگر ایشا اہو وئیریو خواند مرتبہ نیایش و یشت و ہر پنج گاہ و آفرینگان برصد درین باب ہیچ شک نیست

i. e. If one recites (these) Yathâ Ahu Vairyôs, the meritoriousness (of the recital) of the Nyâishes, and Yashts, and every one of the five Gâhs and Afringâns comes to him. There is no doubt about that.

2 The copyist of the manuscript has inadvertantly omitted the number for the Âtash Nyâish, but I have put in the number from another source. *Vide* the late Ervad Kavasji Edulji Kanga's Khordeh Avesta for a similar list, wherein, the numbers vary in some cases. Vide Tamâm-Avesta (તમામ અવસ્તા) by Behdin Dadabhoy Cowasji (1240) Yazdazardi, Vol. I, p. 654.

began to repeat only the first word, 'Yatha,' of the Ahunavar and to turn a bead of the rosary. Then people ceased even to utter the first word Yathâ, and the mere turning of the beads of the rosary came to be considered a religious or pious act. Thus, from the preliminary ordinary position of a counting-machine, the rosary came to occupy the position of a religions instrument or a praying-machine, and people now turn its beads in the midst of ordinary business.

It seems that the use of rosary itself as a counting-machine came in at a much later period among the Parsees. In the midst of the recital of the Yaçna, in the preliminary ritual known as the *paragnâ*, the priest has to recite the 101 names of God 10 times.[1] The priest, even now a days, does not use a rosary for the purpose. He has before him, on the *âlât-gâh* or the stone-platform where the ritualistic utensils are placed, a number of wires known as the Barsam[2] wires. The priest uses these wires for the purpose of counting. He recites the 101 names of God and then sets apart one of the Barsam wires. He sets apart 10 wires and completes his reckoning and prayers. Thus, the ten recitals of the 101 names are counted, not by any rosary, but by means of the metallic wires, which are used in the ritual for another ritualistic purpose.

In the recital of the Vendidâd in the Nirangdin ceremony, during one part of the recital, 200 Ahunavars and 100 Ashem Vohus are to be recited. It is for counting these short prayers that a rosary containing 100 beads, generally of *kerbâ* (کربه) *i.e.* amber, is used now a days. It is said, that at Naosari, a special rosary of this kind is kept by the Dastur who lends it to others for ceremonial occasions.

The use of rosary among the Zoroastrians of Persia.

As to the use of rosary among the Zoroastrians of Persia, I learn, on inquiring from my friend, Mr. Khodâyâr Sheheryâr Dastur of Persia, that it is used in Persia for the following prayers and ritualistic purposes.

1. The occasional recital of the short formula of the Yathâ Ahu Vairyo prayer, 1000 times, by old ladies.

1 Haug's Essays on the Parsis, 2nd edition, p. 397.

2 For Barsam, vide my "Glimpse into the Work of the B. B. R. Asiatic Society for the last 100 years from a Parsee point of view," pp. 89-90.

2. The recital of the Yathâ Ahu Vairyo prayer by the priest in the Vendidâd ceremony. This is also done, as said above, by the Zoroastrian priests of India.
3. On the occasion of the Tirangân Jashan *i. e.* the Jashan on the day Tir and Mâh Tir, when all the Zoroastrians, whether priests or laymen, generally recite the formula in honour of Tishtrya or Tir, which occurs in the Avesta.[1] The formula runs thus and is repeated thrice in the Nyâishes: *Tishtrîm Dravo-zhashmanem Yazamaidê i.e.* We praise the Tishtrya[2] with strong eyes. This formula is recited 1000 times early in the morning on the above Jashan day.
4. "Again on the occasion of the Chahârum ceremony, when the Dahmobed[3] is required to collect, so to say, 'Avestas' to be prayed in the interest of the dead from the people there, the rosary is used for keeping the account."[4]

The custom of "collecting the Avesta."

The custom of what is called "collecting the Avesta," referred to above requires some explanation and remarks, especially as it resembles a similar custom among the Indian Zoroastrians.

On the occasion of a death, the near relatives and friends of the deceased, deem it meritorious to get some prayers recited in honour of the dead. So, the family priest or the priest of the village goes round among the relatives and friends and asks them as to the number of prayers they would like to be recited in honour of the dead. He turns a number of beads of a rosary for the number of prayers ordered by each relative and thus counts up the total enjoined by all.

The corresponding Indian custom of the *lâkh*

This custom of the Iranian Zoroastrians is similar to a custom of the Indian Zoroastrians, with this difference, that what the Iranian Zoroastrians do on the Chehârum *i.e* the fourth day, the Indian Zoroastrians do on the Oothamnâ day, which is the third day. The custom in India is known as the "*lâkh bhanâvvi*" (લાખ ભણાવવી) *i.e* to get a "lac recited", thereby meaning, that a hundred thousand of Ahunavars or Yathâ Ahu Vairyo

1 Khorshed Nyâish, 8; Meher Nyâish 8; Tir Yasht 12.

2 Star Sirius. In Persian, Tir (Tishtrya) has latterly, also come to signify the Sun.

3 Dahmobed (دهموبد) is the priest of the village (deh) who looks after the management of some of the ecclesiastical and social affairs of the community.

4 Mr. Khodayar's manuscript note, kindly given to me on my inquiry on the subject.

prayers may be recited. Though the number ordinarily spoken of is one lac, in reality, it is one lac and five hundred. The custom is this : On the third day after death, at the end of the Oothamnâ[1] ceremony, the eldest son of the deceased, or in his absence, or as his substitute, any near relative presents himself with the family priest before the senior priest in the assembly of priests that meet for the ceremonies. He is then made to mention by that senior priest, the particular ceremonies he is to get performed for the deceased during the first year after death. Formerly, it was customary, that a list of the ceremonies was settled beforehand by the head of the family, in consultation with his family, and according to his or their means, or according to the wishes of the deceased as enjoined by him either orally or by his Will. For example, it may be so many Yaçnas, so many Vendidâds &c. The person then gets those recitals made. He considers it his farz (فرض) or Duty to do so. The recital or declaration before the senior priest was therefore also known as "Farz âpvi *i.e.* Enjoiniug the Duty (to the heir)." Latterly, instead of settling beforehand, the particular ceremonies to be performed during the course of the year, a stereotyped form[2] is used, which the son or near relative has to repeat as dictated by the senior priest

It seems, that in India also, upto about 50 years ago, the family priest inquired of the relatives, if they desired any prayers to be recited on their behalf in honour of the deceased. They gave the number which they desired to be recited. On having the figures from all the relatives and friends the total number was announced before the assembly. The heir generally or some other member of the family undertook, as a matter of duty (farz), to get duly recited by a priest or priests the total number of prayers as desird by all the relatives joined together.

1 *Vide* my Paper on "The Funeral ceremonies of the Parsis. Their Origin and Explanation," pp. 30-32. Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay for the year 1891.

2 The stereotyped form, as now recited in Bombay, runs thus :—

એક લાખ પાંચસે, અહુનવર ત્રણ યજસ્ને ત્રણ વંદીદાદ ૨૪ ફ્રશન (ફ્રસ્કાનાની) આશીદાદ આશીદાદાતાન ગેતીઆન મીનેઆન. દ્વમાયસ્ત બેહાન થુમા આન એ ફ્રમાઇદ કદન આશીદાદાતાન ગેતીઆન મીનેઆન.

In Bombay, this recital is repeated twice. The undertaking during the first recital is in the name, or for the good of, the particular deceased in whose honour, the assembly has met. The second is for the good of the soul (whether living or dead) of the other partner (જોડે *i.e.* husband or wife as the case may be) of the deceased. At Naosari, the number of Ahunavars is one lac twenty-five hundred (એક લાખ પચીસસો અહુનવર) and the injunction for 3 Yaçnas and three Vendidads (ત્રણ યજસ્ને ત્રણ વંદીદાદ) is omitted.

Now these prayers that were enjoined were generally the Ahunavars or the Yatha Ahu Vairyo prayers. Their number generally varied. But, it seems that it generally amounted to one lac. So, latterly, whether the total, as desired or as subscribed by the relatives, amounted to a lac or not, a lac was taken to be the usual stereotyped number. Hence, the words *lâkh bhanâvvi i. e.* to get a lac (of Ahunavars) recited. Though the name of the custom signifies a lâkh (a lac), the wording of the formula of the *farz* speaks of one lac and five hundred Ahuuavars (એક લાખ પાંચશો અહુનવર). It seems, that, though the original intention is to get one lac Ahunavars recited, in case there may be a mistake in counting, 500 more are directed to be recited, to avoid the defect of any mistakes in counting.[1]

The family priest is entrusted with the task of the recital. He is given about Rs. 15 for the recital. He recites a certain number every day, according to to convenience or arrangement, and finishes the number before the end of the first year after death.

It is these different kinds of the recitals of the Ahunavars that seem to have brought the rosary into use among the Parsees. On the third night after death, a suit of clothes and some utensils are consecrated and given to the family priest as a payment in kind. In these articles of consecration, a rosary is also, generally consecrated and presented to the priest.

As said above, the original custom was to announce the actual number of prayers, whether they be Ahunavars or other prayers before the assembly, but, latterly, the number became a stereotyped number of a lac and five hundred. Then the announcement became, as it were, a part of the ritual. Often the announcement is not acted upon and the family does not get all the prayers recited. The spirit, even the misguided spirit is lost and the letter—letter pure and simple, nay not even the letter,—remains. This is a typical instance of how customs, bearing some sense and meaning in the original, lose all their signification within half a century or a century and continue as mere meangingless customs.

Sosh (Sraosha) *bhanâvvi.*

The above custom of *lâkh bhanâvvi* is also spoken of as Sosh bhanâvvi (સોશ ભણાવણી) *i.e.* to get the *sosh* recited.

(1) The Tibetan rosary, though required to count 100 repetitions of a sacred spell, contains 108 beads, "The extra beads are added to make up for any ommission of beads through absent-mindedness during the telling process or for actual loss of beads by breakage" (The Budsthism of Tibet or Lamaism, by Dr. Waddell p. 203).

The word sosh (સોશ) is the corrupted form of Sraosha (સરોશ). As said above, at times, the relatives of the deceased, desired some other Avesta prayers,—in place of, or in addition to, the Ahunavars,—to be recited. These were generally the Yaçna prayers in honour of the Yazata or angel Sraosha, who, according to tha Avesta, guards and guides the souls, living or departed, of men. As the number of Ahunavars has been fixed or rather stereotyped into a lac and five hundred, that of the Yaçnas and the Vendidads has been stereotyped into three. In adition to these, the number of the Daroons (Avesta Draona) or the consecrated breads that are offered on various occasions during the first year after death has been fixed at 24.[1]

Gâe bhanâvvi.

This custom of the announcement of the prayers is also spoken of by some as *gâe bhanâvvi* (ગાય ભણાવવી) *i. e.* to get a recital or announcement made for a cow. It is said, that perhaps, formerly, the Parsees, following their Hindu fellow-countrymen, considered it meritorious to get, on special solemn occasions of joy or grief, a cow released from the hands of a butcher. The occasion of the Oothamnâ ceremony on the third day after death was considered by some to be a solemn occasion of that kind and a cow was set free from the hands of a butcher on such an occasion. Now a days, we only find a relic of that custom in the above phraseology, though no announcement is made to that effect before the assembly. A sum varying from one to five Rupees, is paid to the family priest now a days in lieu of the former custom and that payment is spoken of as *gâe bhanâman* (ગાય ભણામણ)) *i.e.* "(The fee for)

1 There has been a difference of opinion, as to the explanation about the number 24. Some say that the number 24 refers to the number of consecrated breads. In one of my last visits to Naosari, in December 1913, I heard from an old priest, that the number referred to 24 occasions during the first year after death, on which the *Daroon baj* ceremony should be performed. They are the following :—

The 12 monthly days bearing the name of the *roz* on which death took place	... 12
The 4 occasions referred to in the Dibacheh-i-Afringân *viz. chehârum, dehum siroz* and *sâlroz* (*i.e.* the fourth, tenth thirtieth, and the anniversary day after death,)	... 4
The six Gâhambâr days	... 6
One Rapithavin day	... 1
One Farvardiân day *i. e.* the 19th day Farvardin of the Farvardin mah ...	... 1
Total	... 24

the announcement of a cow". Some speak of it as *Sosh Bhanâman* (સોશ ભણામન) *i.e.* the fee for the recital of the Sraosh, and some as lâkh Bhanâman (લાખ ભણામન) *i.e.* the fee for the recital of the lac of Ahunavars. This phraseology shows, how the three customs have been mixed up. But, perhaps this is a remnant of an old Central Asian custom. We find that among the modern Tibetans, whose ancestors seem to have belonged to Central Asia, there is a custom, wherein a cow, yak, or goat is presented to a Lama or priest on the day of the disposal of the dead body.[1]

The materials of beads in Zoroastrian rosaries.

The beads of rosaries among the Indian Zoroastrians are generally made of glass. Well-to-do people have those of amber (કેરબો ربه ؛ ؏) and even of silver.

The Persian Zoroastrians speak of their rosaries as Band-i Yathâ Ahu vairyo. The rosary is so called because it is made up of a number of *band* (بند) *i. e.* knots made out of a thread, and because it is generally used for the recital of the Yatha Ahu Vairyo prayers. It is prepared by the priests. Now a days they also use glass beads. At times the beads are made of vetch or pulse.

The use of vegetable products for beads.

The use of vetch or pulse as materials for beads, is in accordance with the general fact, that in almost all old communities, it was some vegetable product that supplied the materials ot beads. For example, the very word "rosary" in English comes from rose. The Sanskrit word माला mâlâ for rosary also means a garden. Our Indian word હારડી *hârdi* for a rosary comes from હાર *hâr*, which also means a garland of flowers. The Tibetan word for rosary is also connected with garden. All these words lead to show that in early times compressed flowers or vegetable products formed the beads for rosaries.

It is not unusual to find a Parsi Mobad, now a days, recite the eight Yatha Ahu Vairyos at the end of the Fravashi prayer, holding up, at each recital, one of the eight flowers that he has before him in the ritual. The eight flowers before him serve him as a kind of rosary for counting the number of the eight Ahunavars.

One may ask the question, whether rosary was known to the ancient Iranians ? If known, what is the Avestaic word for a rosary ? We do not find any word for rosary in the Avesta. So it seems, that, though its use is old, it is not very old. It may have come into use at a comparatively later time.

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THE FORMULA FOR THE RECITAL OF THE LÂKH (લાખ)

I give below the formula for the recital of the *lâkh* or the *sosh* (srosh), referred to above, in the paper on the use of Rosary among the Parsis. I give the formula, as given in some old manuscripts which belong to Ervad Maneckji Rustomji Unwala. I give them with the preliminary instructions given in those manuscripts.

पाने ३१०

(१) उठणामां अहुनवर गणीने पढीइच ते रवेश लखांशे आंम। पढीई जे आटला लाख। आटला शेहेश। आटला दरुन। बेहेदीन तथा। एरबद फलानांनी आशोदाद ॥ आशोदातांन ॥ अशेआंन मेइनूमान। गेथीहा ॥. हवे जे गूजरेउ हुइ तेना बेटानि आगल राखी पढावीइच ते लखीशि ॥

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A PRINCIPLE OF JUSTICE AMONG THE ANCIENT PERSIANS, AS DESCRIBED BY HERODOTUS.

ITS ORIGIN IN PARSEE BOOKS.

A STUDY.

By

Shams-ul-Ulma Dr. Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, B.A., Ph. D.

The Statement of Herodotus.

Speaking of the religion, manners and customs of the ancient Persians, Herodotus thus speaks on the subject of Justice :—"Not even the king is allowed to put any one to death for a single crime, nor any private Persian exercise extreme severity against any of his domestics for one fault, but if on examination, he should find that his misdeeds are more numerous and greater than his services, he may in that case give bent to his anger"[1]

Rawlinson thus translates the passage :—"The king shall not put any one to death for a single fault, and that none of the Persians shall visit a single fault in a slave with any extreme penalty ; but in every case the services of the offender shall be set against his misdoings ; and if the latter be found to outweigh the former, the aggrieved party shall then proceed to punishment."[1]

I do not know, what the original word in the Greek of Herodotus is, but we may note the word *outweigh*, as given by Rawlinson. Even if Herodotus did not use a word giving us some idea of weighing, the sense meant to be conveyed is clear. What is meant is this: that in dispensing justice, the judge, not only looked to the merit or demerit of the particular question or case before him, but also looked to the antecedents of the party arraigned before him. The judge, as it were, weighed all the past deeds of the accused, or, if we speak in the present ordinary language, took his past conduct into consideration, while deciding the case and passing sentence. If the accused's past good deeds

1 Herodotus Bk. I, 137. Cary's Translation (1889).

2 Rawlinson's Herodotus, Vol. I., p. 278.

outweighed his misdeeds, the judge took a lenient view of the case before him. If, on the other hand, his misdeeds outweighed his good deeds, he proceeded to take the ordinary view of the case and punished him. Private individuals also acted on this principle in their relations with their servants.

An illustration from Herodotus.

We find an illustration of this principle of Iranian justice from another part of the history of Herodotus. His seventh book, entitled Polymnia, treats of the subject of the war of the Persians under Xerxes against the Greeks. Xerxes invades Greece. His Persian fleet advances and places a *stele* or a stone pillar or column upon a rock, known as "The Ant"[1], as a souvenir of its victorious sail. While proceeding further, a part of the fleet under Sandôces, lagging behind, and mistaking a Greek fleet at some distance for their own Persian fleet, falls into the hands of the Greeks. In his account of this mishap, Herodotus thus speaks of the Persian admiral Sandôces : "He was of the number of the royal judges, and had been crucified by Darius some time before, on the charge of taking a bribe to determine a cause wrongly ; but while he yet hung on the cross, Darius bethought him, that the good deeds of Sandôces towards the king's house were more numerous than his evil deeds ; and so confessing that he had acted with more haste than wisdom, he ordered him to be taken down and set at large. Thus Sandôces escaped destruction at the hands of Darius, and was alive at this time."[2]

In this story, which illustrates the Irânian principle of justice, we see that a Persian king, remembering it even at the eleventh or twelfth hour, set at liberty a prisoner from over the gallows.

The Zoroastrian books that refer directly or indirectly to the principle of justice.

This principle of justice, as observed in public by the state, even by the King himself, and in private by individuals towards their domestics and slaves, has its parallel in the principle of religious justice or religious retribution, as given in Parsee books. There are several Avesta and Pahlavi writings, which refer to the belief of a man's being judged in the Heaven, on the third day after death. They are (a) The Vendidâd, (b) the Vishtâsp Yasht, (c) the Hâdokht Nask, (d) the Minokherad, (e) the Dâdistân-i Dini and (f) the

1 Rawlinson's Herodotus Vol. IV, p. 155; Bk. VII, 183.

2 Ibid p. 165; Bk. VII, 194.

Grand Bundehesh. All these works simply refer to this matter, but it is the (g) Ardâi Virâf-nâmeh that goes a little into the details and gives the principle of justice, on which, the principle referred to by Herodotus, seems to have been based.

(a) The Avesta books. The Vendidâd.

Firstly, we read in the Vendidâd (XIX, 27 *et seq*): Zoroaster asked: "O Holy Creator of the material world! What becomes of the works of charity which a man bestows for (the good of) his soul in the material world? Where do they go? Where do they spread? Where do they meet (*i.e.* where are they recompensed)?"

Ahura Mazda replied thereto: After the death of man, after the passing away of man, after the departure (of man), the Daêvas and the mal-informed Dravants do their work. When the dawn after the third night brightens and shines, and when the well-armed Mithra appears on the beautiful mountains, and when the Sun rises, (then) O Spitama Zarathushtra! a Daêva, named Vizarêsha, carries away, (well-) tied, the soul of the wicked devil-worshipping sinful man. (The soul, whether of) the unrighteous or the righteous goes towards the old-created path, the holy Chinvat bridge created by Mazda. There, the consciousness and the soul are asked to account for the conduct (observed) in the world, for the actions done in the corporeal world. There comes that beautiful, (well-) formed, strong, handsome, watchful, discriminitive, graceful, resourceful, artful (maiden). She saddens the sinful soul of the unrighteous in darkness. She carries the soul of the righteous to the other side of the Harabêrêzaiti (*i.e.* the Elbourz mountain), and guides him across the Chinvat bridge, the bridge of the spiritual Yazatas. (Then) Vohumanô rises from his golden seat. Vohumanô sayeth (thus): 'O righteous! How (well that) thou hast come hither to this imperishable world from (that) perishable world'! The souls of the righteous go delighted towards Ahura Mazda, towards the Amesha Spentas, towards the golden seat (of Vohumanô), to the Garo-nmâna (*i.e.* Paradise) which is the mansion of Ahura Mazda, the mansion of the Amesha Spentas, the mansion of other Holy ones."

We must note that according to the Vendidad, it is only one maiden, the handsome maiden, that appears before both—the righteous and the unrighteous souls. She pleases the one, and saddens the other.

(b) The Hâdokht Nask.

We find a more amplified version of the picture of the Vendidâd in the Hâdokht nask.[1] There, it is said, that on the death of a righteous man, during the first night, his soul hovers over (lit. sits near) the head of the corpse, uttering these beautiful words "*Ushtâ ahmâi yahmâi ushtâ kahmâichit. Vacê khshyâns Mazdâo dâyât Ahuro.*" *i.e.* "Happiness to him, from whom Happiness is to others. May Ahura Mazda, who rules according to His will, bestow blessings (upon him)". This condition of conscious satisfaction continues for three nights. During these three nights, the soul, in its spiritual state, feels as much happiness as all living men together feel in their corporeal life. During the third night, at dawn, the soul passes, as it were, through the midst of fragrant trees and is regaled by fragrant refreshing southern winds.

It then meets the picture of its own deeds done in the material world. The picture presents itself in the form of a very handsome well-formed, intelligent young maiden. The soul asks the maiden, who she was. The maidenly picture of his own deeds replies, that she was the result of his own actions, and that her beauty, goodness and greatness were all his own. The soul then proceeds further. The first step leads him to the Heaven of Good Thoughts, the second to that of Good Words, the third to that of Good Deeds and the fourth to the final Heaven of Light, the seat of God.

The third chapter of Hâdokht *nask*[2] then presents to us quite a reverse picture for an unrighteous soul. For three nights, the soul hovers over the head of the corpse, uttering the depressing words: "*Kâm nemoi (nemê) zâm Ahura Mazda, kuthrâ nemê ayeni*" *i.e.* "O Ahura Mazda! In which direction am I to turn? Where am I to go?" On the third night after death, at dawn, it passes from over a filthy place and meets with filthy stinking winds from the north. On proceeding further, the first step leads it to the Hell of evil thoughts, the second to that of evil words, the third to that of evil actions, and the fourth to the hell of unfathomable darkness.

(1) Chap II. *Vide* for the Pahlavi text, the Book of Ardâ Virâf by Drs. Hoshang, Haug, and West, p. 279. Translation, p. 309. Westergaard, Yasht Fragment XXII. 1 et seq. p. 296. Le Zend Avesta, par Darmesteter Vol. II pp. 651-55.

2 Chap. III. The Book of Ardâ Virâf by Drs. Hoshang, Haug and West, Pahlavi Text, p. 293. Translation, p. 315. Westergaard, Yasht Fragment XXII, 19 *et. seq.*, p. 298. Le Zend Avesta par Darmesteter, Vol. II pp. 655-58.

We thus see, that the Hâdokht *nask* amplifies a little the account of the Vendidâd, as regards the progress or the fall respectively, of the righteous or the unrighteous soul. But it says nothing about the appearance of, and the judgment by, Mithra alluded to in the Vendidâd.

(c) The Vishtâsp Yasht.

We now come to the Vishtâsp Yasht.[1] In the Vendidâd, it is Zoroaster who asks a question about the destiny of the soul and it is Ahura Mazda who replies. In the Hadokht nask also, it is the same thing. But the Vishtâsp Yasht (Chap. VIII) differs from the first two. In the Patet, we thus speak of our faith of the Zoroastrian religion : " Pa ân din daçtur est hom, in Ahura Mazda Zarthosht châsht, Zartosht oi Goshtâsp " *i e.* " I believe the commandments of that religion, which Ahura Mazda taught to Zoroaster, and which Zoroaster taught to Gushtâsp." The Vishtasp Yasht is framed in the spirit of the latter part of the above passage of the Patet. It is the teaching of Zoroaster to king Gushtâsp. Hence it is, that it is called Vishtâsp Yasht. It is also spoken of as Vishtâsp *nask*. It seems to be a much mutilated and abridged form of the 10th *nask*, which is also known as Vishtâsp *sâst i. e.* "that, which was taught to Vishtâsp by Zoroaster". In all the 8 chapters of the Nask or the Yasht, the subject in hand is addressed, to Vishtâsp, as "(My) son (puthra) Kava Vishtâspa". But the 8th chapter, which treats of the subject of the destiny of the soul, is, in addition to Vishtâsp, addressed to Frashaostar as "(My) son Frashoshtra!"

In this Yasht, the soul is represented, as reposing during the first night on Good Words, and during the second night on Good Actions. On the third night it proceeds towards the Chinvat bridge. Here, the usual stage of good thoughts is dropped. But in the final passage to Garo-nmâna, we find the usual order. The description of this book about the destiny of the righteous soul is well nigh the same as that of the Hâdokht Nask As to the destiny of the unrighteous soul, it only alludes to it in the last para and omits the detailed account found in the Hâdokht nask.

(d) The Pahlavi books. The Minokherad.

We now come to the Pahlavi books. We will first see, what the Minokherad[2] says. The second chapter of the book treats of the good of the body and the soul (*tan va ravân*). Therein, after

1 Westergaard, pp. 302 to 312; Zend Avesta, par Darmesteter, Vol. II pp. 663-83.

2 Chap II 110-196

speaking of the transient state of life, it gives the following account about the destiny of the soul : For three days and nights the soul hovers near the body (or near the place of the body). On the dawn of the fourth day, it meets, on one hand, with help and support (awâkih) from three Yazatas or angels *viz* Sarosh, Vâe-i-shapir (*i e.* the good Vâe) and Vahrâm (Behrâm), and on the other, with the opposition (hamistârih) of demons like Ast-vidât, Vâe-i salitar, Farzisht, Nazisht, and Aeshm, and then proceeds to the Chinvad bridge. The souls of both, the righteous as well as the unrighteous, go to the bridge. There, they are judged impartially, not even a hair's breadth of partiality being tolerated, by Meher, Sarosh and Rashnu, the last one holding the balance to weigh their deeds. When a righteous soul passes, the bridge becomes as vide as a *farsang*. The rest of the description of the Minokherad is well-nigh the same as that of the Hâdokht nask. In the case of the unrighteous soul, the demon Vizaresh takes hold of it. It meets with opposition from the good Yazatas like Sarosh, and with bad treatment from demons like Vizaresh who beat it.

After this, we find in the Minokherad some further matter, which is wanting in the previous descriptions of the Avesta books, *viz.* that the unrighteous soul is accosted by the picture of its bad deeds in the form of an ugly wicked maiden. On being asked by the soul, who she was, she says: " I am not a maiden, but am thy deeds" (li lâ kanik barâ kunishneh-i lak). She then taunts the soul and reminds it of its past deeds. Finally, with four steps, the soul goes to the final hell. As said above, according to the Vendidad, the souls of both, the righteous and the unrighteous, were accosted by a handsome maiden, who saddened the souls of the unrighteous and gladdened those of the righteous. But here, we find that the righteous and the unrighteous are met by two different types of maidens.

(e) The Dadistan-i Dinik.

The next Pahlavi book that treats of the destiny of soul is the Dadistân-i Dini.[1] Its version varies a little, though not in the main points. It says nothing of the soul hovering over the corpse or its last resting-place, but says, that it entertains some fears and doubts about its place (*gumân-i madam nefshman gas*)[2] It sees before itself its good deeds or misdeeds In the case of the righteous souls, during the first three

1 Chaps XX—XXV.

2 Chap XXIV, 2. Ervad Tehmuras's Text, Pursishn XXIII, 2, p. 49 l. 11.

nights, the recollection of their good thoughts, good words and good deeds brings them joy, pleasure and commendment (*Shnâyashneh, râmishnîh and farh âtashneh*)[1] respectively. On the contrary, to the wicked soul, there come pain, discomfort, and punishment (*bish, dush-âvârih and pâtafarâs*)[2] respectively. All the souls then pass over the bridge. We find in the Dâdistân following additional statements, which are not found in the preceding versions.

(*a*) The first statement is that about a class of souls between the righteous (*âhloban*) and the unrighteous (*darvand*) They are spoken of as the *Hamistagâni* *i.e.* the equal-stationery or the ever-stationary. The righteous go higher up (*lâlâ*) from over the bridge, the unrighteous fall down head-formost, and the *hamistagâni* to their own place, which seems to be neither high up nor lower down, but on some level place.

(*b*) We also find some additional matter about the bridge. It is said that the bridge is like a many-sided wooden beam (*dâr humânâk-i kabad pâhlui*). It has both broad and narrow sides, the broad being as broad as 27 reeds (*nâi*) [3] and the narrow as the edge of a razor,[4] (*ostareh tâi*). When a righteous soul passes over it, the broad side gives it a passage; but to the unrighteous, it is the narrow side, edged like a razor, that gives a passage. The broad side gives an easy passage to the righteous, the narrow side throws down the unrighteous on pointed darts.

(*c*) On the departure of a righteous person from this world, the creation—water, earth, trees and animals—grieve for his departure.[5] This statement of of the Dâdistân reminds us of what we read in the Farvardin Yasht, *viz.* that the creation was pleased on the birth of a righteous person like Zoroaster. Ahura Mazda makes up for the loss by providing for, or sending, another righteous man to this world. So, the world continues to have a fresh supply of good men in place of those who have departed.[6]

(*d*) In the Avesta books, above referred to, the picture of one's deeds which presents itself before the soul in the form of a maiden is spoken of as *Daêna i.e.* conscience. In the Mino-Kherad it is spoken of as *Kunashnê i.e.* (the aggregate of his) actions. In the Dadistân, it is spoken of as "the treasure-bearer or treasurer of one's meritoriousness (*ganjobar-i kerfê*).[7]

1 Chap. XX, 2, Pursishn XIX. 2, Ervad Tehmuras's Text, p, 43
2 Ibid.
3 Ibid. Chap. XXI, 3. Pursishn XX 3. p. 44.
4 Cf. The "razor-bridge" of the Mohomedans.
5 Ibid Chap XXII
6 Ibid Chap XXII
7 Ibid Chap. XXIV 5, Pursishn XXIII 5; Text p. 50.

(*e*) There is one more additional new idea in the Dâdistân.[1] It is that of the soul seeing both, its good and evil deeds before it. The good soul sees before it, its meritorious as well as sinful works (*nefshman kêrfê va vanâs negiret*).[2] The righteous soul, in the midst of its pleasure for the consciousness of having acted well in this world, meets on the third night some punishment for any wrong deeds that it may have done. It says: "If there be some sin also with righteousness, which (sin) continues in its origin, for the first time, on the same third night, punishment by way of retribution for the evil deeds reaches him (*Âat levatmanach ahlubih vanâs aêt zakash pavan bun istêt fardum pavan tojashneh dushvarshta pâtafarâsh ham sedigar leliyâ yâmtunet*).[3] In the same way, the unrighteous soul, while it sees before it, its evil thoughts, evil words and evil deeds, and the punishment attached to them, sees also on the first, second and third nights, the spirit (*minôê*) of its good thoughts, good words, and good actions respectively, and derives pleasure therefrom. [4]

Thus, we see in the Dadistân, for the first time, the idea of one's good and bad actions presenting themselves before the soul after death.

(*f*) The Grand Bundehesh.

When we come to the Grand Bundehesh, we find, there are some new matters in it. The Chapter of the Grand Bundehesh, I refer to, has been translated by me fully, and I would refer my readers to the full text and translation given by me.[5]

(*a*) The most important new matter that one finds in the Grand Bundehesh, is this: While in all the other Avesta and Pâhlavi books, a man's conscience, or his actions, are represented, as appearing before the soul, after death, in the form of a damsel,[6] in this new chapter, in addition to their being so re-

1 Ibid Chap XXIV
2 Pursishn XXIII 2. Text p, 250 l. 1.
3 Chap XXIV 4. Pursishn XXIII 4. Text p. 50, ll. 6-8.
4 Chap. XXV 4. Pursishn XXIV. Text p. 51, ll. 14-16.
5 "An untranslated Chapter of the Bundehesh," a Paper read before the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society on 1st August 1901. Vide journal B. B. R. A. Society. Vol XXI, pp. 49-65. Vide my "Asiatic Papers" pp. 217-234. Vide my Introduction to that Paper, for my views about the Date and the Author of the Bundehesh.
6 Dr. Haug thought that this allegory may have "suggested to Mohammed the idea of the Celestial Huris." Dr. Cheyne says. "At any rate this Zoroastrian allegory suggested the Talmudie story of the three bands of ministering angels who meet the souls of the pious man, and the three bands of wounding angels who meet the bad man when he dies." The Origin of the Psalter, p. 437.

presented, they are represented (1) in the form of a cow (*torâ-karp*) and (2) in the form of a garden (*bostân-karp*).[1]

(*b*) Again, we learn, that the mountain of Chekâtî or Chekat-i-Daîtî, which is in the middle of world, is the place of the balance of Justice.

(*c*) We further learn from this book for the first time that the balance is held by the angel Rashna.

(*d*) Spiritual Yazatas and spiritual dogs guard the bridge which rests on this mountain, the northern and the southern ends of the bridge being on two summits of the Elbourz. The sword-like edge of the bridge rests on the Chekat Daîtî.

(*e*) The chapter alludes to the Parsee custom of keeping the fire burning before the corpse, and says, that it helps, as it were, in frightening the Daêva Vizaresra, who turns his back from the fire. In case, there is, for one reason or another, no fire there, the fire of the Âtash Beheram will take care of the soul. This seems to account for the custom, still prevalent to some extent, of sending some sandle wood to the Âtash Beherâm or to the adjoining Âtash Âdarân when death takes place. Fire assists the virtuous soul again, when it crosses the bridge. It illuminates his path. During the first three days and nights the pain to the soul is as that "to a man when his house is being dug up." The soul sits before its dead body hoping[2] "that the blood may be heated and the wind may enter the body" (again), and that it may be able to enter the body again. The picture of the pious deeds of a virtuous person appear before him, in addition to that in the figure of a damsel, in the form of "a fat and milky cow" and "a garden full of fruits, full of fertility from which blessful and fertile thoughts come to him." When the soul is sinful, the cow is "without milk, weak and frightful" and the garden "waterless, treeless, dreary." The good wind (vâe-i-shapir) catches hold of the hand of the pious soul and carries it to its own destined place. The ugly damsel who presents herself before the wicked soul asks it to cross the sharp-edged path. The soul refuses to do so. It is asked thrice, and thrice it refuses. Then, in the end, there comes before the soul "a frightful untamed wild beast." The soul is frightened, and there being no help before

1 Vide my above paper in my Asiatic Papers" p. 220.

2 For these and other quotations, vide my above Paper of the Translation of a chapter of the Bundehesh.

it, it advances on the sharp-edged path of the bridge, and, in so doing, falls in the abyss of hell. "Those whose sins and righteous acts are both equal" go to the Hamistagân which is "a place like the world (*jinaki chegun gêtî hûmânûk*)"

In the above description of the Grand Bundehesh, we find a number of newly interpolated ideas, foreign to the old ideas. It is such interpolations that have made the old and small Bundehesh "the Grand Bundehesh."[1]

(g) The Ardâi Virâf-nâmeh.

Lastly, we come to the Ardâi Virâf Nâmeh. Here, the picture, that presents itself before the soul, is spoken of, both as Din (Daêna) and Kunashnê[3] *i.e.* conscience and actions. Again, we find in addition to the Yazatas or angels referred to in the above books, the mention of the Yazata Âshtâd.[4] Rashna is spoken of as holding a golden balance, wherein he weighs the pious and the wicked.[5] The Hamistagân is spoken of as the place wherein are the souls of those, whose meritorious and sinful acts are equal.[6] Here we find—and this is the only Pahlavi book wherein we find—some more particulars about the weighing of the deeds in the balance. One, whose meritorious deeds exceeds his misdeeds by the weight of three Sroshocharanâm, goes to Heaven. One, whose misdeeds exceed his meritorious deeds by three Sraoshocharanâm, goes to Hell. One, whose meritorious and evil deeds are equal, goes to the Hamistagan.[7]

Thus, we have traced from the Avesta writings, *viz.* the Vendidad, the Hadokht Nask and the Vishtâsp Yasht and the Pahlavi writings *viz.* the Minokherd, the Dadsitân-i Dinik, the Grand Bundehesh and the Virâf-nâmeh, the principle of religious justice gradually developed.

The moral underlying the principle referred to by Herodotus.

Now, it is this principle, observed in the religious books of the ancient Persians, that seems to have suggested, both, in public and private justice, the principle referred to, and liked by, Herodotus. A man was not rewarded or punished after death for individual good or bad acts, but his whole life was judged. Similarly, in courts of law, a man's previous conduct in life was looked to. If he had committed a fault for the first time, an opportunity was given him to improve, and no severe

1 The Text of this Bundehesh as collated by late Ervad Tehmuras Dinshaw Anklesaria has been edited by his son, Mr. Behramgore, and published by the the Trustees of the Funds and Properties of the Parsee Punchayet. 2 Chaps IV, V, VI and XVII 3 Chap. 8V 18.
4 Chap V, 3. 5 Chap. V, 5. 6 Chap. VI, 7. 7 Ibid 9-11.

notice of his first wrongful act was taken. The moral, underlying this principle, is this: A man is not infallible. He is liable to err. So, his character must not be judged by his individual actions, but by the sum total of his actions. That was the principle, which, according to Herodotus, was attended to, in public, by the king, that is by his courts of justice, and in private, by the people in their general dealings.

This principle, as an individual principle, is not, and cannot, ordinarily be acted upon by Courts of Law in administering justice. A man must be judged for the particular fault for which he is charged. But, a judge admits evidence on, and takes into consideration, the accused's past conduct. The past conduct of a man, as shown in any previous case before a Court of law, or as shown by witnesses in their evidence, leads the judge, to some extent, to form an opinion about his guilt, and if he is found guilty, to give a heavy or a mild sentence.

The idea of a Judge and his Balance in other nations.

The above mentioned Irânian idea of a judge and his balance is found among other nations also. For example, in his secondary character, "as lord of souls, conductor and guardian of the spirits of the dead, St. Michael is represented, especially in the sacred and legendary art of the Christians, as weighing the works of man in a balance. "Those whose good works exceeded their demerits, he presented before the throne of God ; but those, who were found wanting, he gave to be tortured in purgatory, until their souls from being " as crimson should become as white as snows." We read in Daniel (V 27). "Thou art weighed in the balance and art found wanting."[1]

Among the ancient Egyptians also, there was the idea of a presiding judge and his weighing balance. The Egyptian god Osiris corresponded in this matter to the Avestaic Mithra. He, like Mithra, weighed the actions of a person in a scale. Just as the Yazata Rashna helps Mithra in his work and is in direct charge of the balance, Anabis helped Orisis and was in charge of the balance.[2]

We find a similar thing among the Buddhists. Among them, "the Great Judgement is determined solely by the person's own deeds, and it is

1 Mrs. Jameson's "Sacred and Legendary Art." 1. p. 96. Vide the "Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay, Vol. VI No. 5, pp. 237-253, for my paper on "St. Michael of the Christians and Mithra of the Zoroastrians", *Vide* my "Anthropoligical Papers," pp. 173-190, for this paper.

2 Vide Journal B. B. R. A. Society Vol. XIX pp. 365-74. *Vide* my Asiatic Papers pp. 137-146.

concretely pictured by the ordeal of scales, where the good deeds, as white pebbles, are weighed against the sins, as black counters, in balances, and the judge holds a mirror which reveals the soul in all its nakedness. 'Not in the heavens, not in the midst of the sea, not if thou hidest thyself in the clefts of the mountains will thou find a place when thou canst escape the force resulting from thy evil actions.' "[1]

Herodotus's reference to the principle of justice throwing some side-light on the question of the Antiquity of the Avesta.

Now, this reference to a principle of Irânian justice in an old writer like Herodotus, who lived from 484 B. C. to 424 B. C., seems to me to be of some importance in the consideration of the question of the antiquity of the Avesta. The late Prof. James Darmester said, that the Avesta was post-Alexandrian and not pre-Alexandrian. Now, this principle of Irânian justice, based on the teachings of the Avesta on the subject of eschatology, is at least as old as the time of Herodotus. We see, though not its full development, yet its origin in the Vendidâd. When I say, that we do not see the full development in the Vendidâd, I do not affirm that we do not find it in a developed form in the time of the Vendidâd. It may have existed even then. In the Vendidâd account, we find the Amesha Spenta Vohumanô rising from his golden seat and asking the righteous soul, how it went from the perishable world to the imperishable. It is a question which we find also in the later books which refer to the above principle of justice. Now, it is of this Vohumanô, that Darmesteter says that his idea was taken by the Avesta in later times from the Logos of Philo-Judæus, who lived after Christ. The fact, that the principle of justice, connected with the name of this Ameshaspend, is referred to by Herodotus as existing in his time (5th Century B. C.), tends to show that the Avesta, at least the writing that refers to it, was very old.

1 "The Buddhism of Tibet or Lamaism" by L. A. Wedell (1895) p. 90. Vide also p. 113 for the weighing of the sins "figured as black pebbles, and the good deeds as white, which are weighed eagainst each other in scales."

THE USE OF SANG-RIZEH (سنگ ریزہ PEBBLES) IN A PARSEE RITUAL.

BY

Shams-ul-Ulma Dr. Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, B A., Ph. D.

Introduction.

My study in connection with the customs and manners of the Tibetans, as observed at Darjeeling during my stay there in May-June of 1913, has led me to many thoughts throwing some side light on some Parsee customs and has suggested to me the subjects of several papers. The subject of this paper is one of this kind.

In my papers on "Tibetan Rosaries"[1] and on "The Use of Rosaries among Zoroastrians"[2] I have spoken at some length on the origin of the use of rosaries. I have said, that the necessity of counting the number of small prayers, enjoined to be religiously repeated, has led to the use of rosaries for the purpose of counting.

The use of Pebbles among the Ancients.

It seems that rosaries came into use a little later. Pebbles were used before rosaries came into use. One of the primitive ways of counting was that by pebbles. According to Mr. Hughes, "in the early days of Islam the Mahomedans counted God's praises on small pebbles."[3] It is also related that "Paul of Pherma, an Egyptian ascetic of the fourth century, being ordered to recite 300 prayers, collected as many pebbles which he kept in his bosom, and threw out one by one at every prayer, which shows that the rosary was probably not in use at that period."[4]

It was this statement, that first suggested to me the thought, that the use of pebbles in the ritual of the Vendidâd, as recited during the Nirangdin *i. e.* the ceremony for consecrating the *nirang (gaomez* or cow's urine), was at first intended for counting the recitals of the Ahunavars or Yathâ Ahu Vairyôs and the Ashem Vohus. Subsequent study has led to confirm my above view.

1 Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay, Vol. X, No. 2, pp. 39-56.
2 The Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy Zarthoshte Madrassa Jubilee Volume. Vide above.
3 "The Dictionary of Islam," by Hughes, p. 546. Vide the word 'Rosary.'
4 Ibid.

The efficacy of Ahunavar prayer.

The Ahunavar or the Yatha Ahu Vairyô prayer is one of the most efficacious prayers referred to in the Avesta. The Sarosh Hâdokht also speaks at some length about the efficacy of the Ahunavars. It says at first in brief, that "the Ahunavar is the most efficacious of all prayers (Ahuno vairyo vachâm verethrazâstemo).[1] According to the Yaçna[2], the Ahunavar prayer was created by God, as the Word, even before the creation.

According to the Vendidâd, Zoroaster recited it on all occasions of difficulty. When Angra-mainyu or Ahriman asked his Druj to attack Zoroaster, and when he himself tried to allure Zoroaster away from his Mazdayasnian religion, Zoroaster withstood the attack and the temptation by reciting an Ahunavar.[3] Zoroaster asked Ahura Mazda, as to the best way of withstanding Ahriman and his Daêvas, his evil powers and influences. He was told, that the best way was to act according to the best teachings of the Mazdayasnian religion, to depend upon the Higher Intelligences, to look to grand Nature, to praise it and to act according to it, and to recite the Ahunavars.[4] A man, who is contaminated or infected by coming into contact with a dead body, can be cured of his physical impurity by a kind of ceremonial bath. With the physical infection, there also seems to be associated an idea of a kind of mental and moral infection. This kind of infection, whether physical, mental or moral, can, it is enjoined, be cured by the recital of 100 Ashem Vohus and 200 Ahunavars.[5]

Latterly, when the Vendidâd came to be recited as a part of the liturgical service, the Zoti or the officiating priest, instead of only reciting the above injunction, recited in full 100 Ashem Vohus and 200 Ahunavars or Yatha-Ahu Vairyos.

At present, in the ordinary course of the recital of the Vendidad, the officiating priest generally repeats the recital of the 100 Ashem Vohus and the 200 Ahunavars by counting them on a rosary. But during the recital of the Vendidad on the occasion of the Nirangdin ceremony, in addition to the use of a rosary, at the end of the recital while reciting the last nine Ahunavars, he throws 9 pebbles called *sang-rizeh* (سنگ ریزہ) in the two vessels before him which contain the consecrated

1 Sarosh Hadokht, Yt. XI, 3.
2 Hâ XIX.
3 Vendidad XIX, 1-10.
4 Ibid XIX 11-22.
5 Ibid 20-22.

gaomez or cow's urine and *âv* or water. This process of throwing the pebbles is considered to be a ceremonial act for further purifying or consecrating the *gaomez* and the water. I think, that this custom of using the pebbles during the recital of the last nine Ahunavars is a relic of an old primitive custom, wherein 300 pebbles were used for the purpose of counting 100 Asem Vohu and 200 Ahunavar prayers. We saw above, that pebbles were so used among the ancient Mahomedans and Christians.

I am supported in this view, by what we learn from Anquetil Du Perron who, was in India from 1755 to 1761. According to him, there was a similar custom among the Parsees of Surat about 150 years ago. While studying the question of the funeral ceremonies of the Parsees at Surat, as described by Anquetil, I have come across the following passage in the discription of the ceremony of the consecration of a Tower of Silence :

"Au dix-neuviéme Fargard du Vendidâd, après les cent, *L'abondance et le Behescht* &c.,[1] et les deux cens, *C'est le desir d'Ormusd* &c.[2] le Djouti jette trois cens petites pierres au milieu du Dakhmè, et de tous les côtés. Il acheve ensuite le Vendidâd"[3]

Translation.—In the 19th Fargard of the Vendidad, after the 100 Ashem vohus and the 200 Yatha Ahu Vairyios, the Joti throws 300 small stones in the middle of the Dakhma and in all directions. He then finishes the Vendidâd."

Here, we find, that instead of throwing only 9 pebbles, as at present, during the recital of the last Ahunavars in the Vendidâd on the occasion of the Nirangdin ceremony, the Parsee priests of Surat threw the full number of 300 during the recital of the 100 Ashem Vohus and 200 Ahunavars in the Vendidâd on the occassion of the consecration of a Tower of silence. Anquetil Du Perron, does not say that, that was done for the purpose of counting; but when we remember, that counting by pebbles was an ancient custom among several religious communities, we feel sure that it was originally intended for that purpose. Again Anquetil does not say for what purpose the 300 pebbles were thrown. But, we know from the ordinary traditional belief, as expressed in the case of the throwing of the 9 pebbles in the Nirangdin ceremony, that

1. *i. e.* The Ashem Vohus. Anquetil speaks of the short prayers by giving his translations of the first words of the prayers.
2. *i. e.* The Yatha Ahu Vairyos.
3. Zend Avestâ, Tome II, p. 590.

the idea was, that the *sangrizeh* or pebbles had a purifying effect. So, perhaps in the case of the consecration of the Tower also, that must have been believed to be the view. The fact that they were thrown in all directions helps that view.

The original purpose of throwing the pebbles was, as referred to in the above mentioned case of Paul of Pherma, that of counting, but that purpose was later on forgotten. The idea of purification or consecration was really and very properly applied, as enjoined in the Vendidâd, to the recital of the Ashem Vohus and Ahunavars, the oldest of the Zoroastrian prayers. But that idea of purification was, later on, transferred from the prayers to the pebbles.[1]

Again, in connection with the use of the pebbles, or "small stones" as Anquetil calls them, we must note, that the 19th chapter of the Vendidâd, wherein the 300 repetitions of the short prayers are enjoined and are actually made, speaks of a kind of stones with which Zoroaster went to oppose Akamana. There we read : " Zoroaster got up; Zoroaster advanced, not afraid of the difficulty of the hard questions of Akamana (the Evil spirit) with stones in his hand" (*usê-hishtat Zarathushtrô, frashushat Zarathushtrô asaretô Aka-manangha khruzdya tbaêsho-parshtanâm asânô-zasta.*)[2]

The Pahlavi commentators of the 19th chapter of the Vendidâd have directly connected the stones in the hand of Zoroaster with Ahunavars. According to them, the stones may be figuratively taken for the Ahunavars. They say :

" Sag-i sagîn[3] : aitô mun minôe Yatha Ahu Vairyô imallunet[4] " *i.e.* there are some who say that the stone of stones is the spiritual Yatha Ahu Vairyo.

It is the study of the subject of Tibetan rosaries that has auggested to me the subject of this paper. So, it is worth-noting here, that, though we do not know of

1 The coincidence of the number three hundred, both in an old Christian ritual and an old Parsee ritual is worth-noting.

2 Vendidâd XIX, 4.

3 For " Sang-i Sangin." Some read this as sê-i sê-gun *i.e.* three times three, or nine, and connect the use of the ' Nao-gireh' the nine-knotted stick (𐬯𐬀𐬎𐬭𐬀) in the Bareshnum ceremony with this word. This interpretation leads me to say, that perhaps, these words were also read by some for " sag-i sagin" *i.e.* dog of dogs (the four-eyed dog, the *chathru-chashm* dog) and they suggested the use of a dog in the Bareshnum ceremony. In the 9th chapter of the Vendidad, which treats fully of the process of the Bareshnum, we find nothing about the use of a dog in the ceremony. So, it is possible that this reading (sag-i sagin in the 4th para) in the 19th chapter of the Pahlavi Vendidâd, which is, in one way, connected with the ceremonial bath of *nîrang* for the *hamrit* and *patrit* (XIX 20), may have suggested the use of the dog in the ceremonial bath of the Bareshnum.

4 Dastur Darab P. Sanjana's Pahlvi Vendidad p. 198, l. 8

any reference in books on Tibet, to the use of pebbles for the purpose of counting, we find that pebbles are referred to in connection with a religious subject like that of the last Judgment day. Col. Waddell, speaking of the Buddhist Hell and Judgment day says :

"The Buddhist hell (Naraka) is a true *inferno* situated in the bowels of the human earth like Hades, and presided over by the Indian Pluto, Yama, the king and judge of the dead, who however is himself finite and periodically tortured. Every day he is forced to swallow molten metal. So, as the shade of Achilles says, 'it is better to live on earth as the poorest peasant than to rule as a prince of the dead.'[1]

"The Great Judgment is determined solely by the person's own deeds, and it is concretely pictured by the ordeal of scales, where the good deeds, as white pebbles, are weighed against the sins, as black counters, in balances, and the judge holds a mirror which reveals the soul in all its nakedness."

" Not in the heavens, not in the midst of the sea, not if thou hidest thyself in the clefts of the mountains wilt thou find a place where thou canst escape the force resulting from thy evil actions. Through the six states of transmigration does the power of our actions lead us. A life in heaven awaits the good. The warders of hell drag the wicked before the king of hell, Yama, who says to them :—

" 'Did you not when on earth see the five divine messengers sent to warn you—the child, the old man, the sick, the criminal suffering punishment, and the dead corpse?' And the wicked man answers—'I did see them'.

" 'And didst thou not think within thyself.—"I also am subject to birth, old age and death. Let me be careful to do good works"?' And the wicked man answers : 'I did not, sire; I neglected in my folly to think of these things.'

"Then the king, Yama, pronounces his doom: 'These thy evil deeds are not the work of thy mother, father, relatives, friends, advisers. Thou alone hast done them all; thou alone must gather the fruit'. And the warders of hell drag him to the place of torment, rivet him to red-hot iron, plunge him in glowing seas of blood, torture him on burning coals, and he dies not till the last residue of his guilt has been expiated.

" Nor is hell a complete expiation of offences, for Buddha is credited with

1 Odyssey, XI, 481.

1. The Buddhism of Tibet or Lamaism (1895) p. 90.

saying ' A harsh word uttered in past times is not lost, but returns again, and the Jâtaka tales are full of incidents in illustration."

We see from this instructive long passage, that " white pebbles" symbolise, represent, or weigh, "good deeds" in the balance of the judgment-day. We must note, that the pebbles used in the Nirangdin ceremony also are white. The reference to the use of "white pebbles" in the scale of Justice outweighing sins as "black counter" suggests the idea of a kind of moral or spiritual purification. I have quoted Col. Waddell at full length, as his version of the Tibetan hell and judgment-day is very interesting from other points of view also. We find how emphatically it is said here, that one's future depends upon himself and himself alone, upon his own actions and deeds.

As to the *sang-rizeh* or pebbles used in the above ceremonies, they are purified or consecrated beforehand. This process of purifying the pebbles themselves before using them in the ritual, shows, that latterly, the purifying effect or efficacy was much thought of and the counting purpose was lost sight of.

The 9th chapter of the Pahlavi Vendidad refers to the custom of throwing pebbles in the consecrated water and urine, but it does not give the number as three hundred. But the Pahlavi epistles of Manushcheher point to the use of that number.

The Epistles, written in the 9th century, throw some light on the question. We know from these epistles, that Zadsparam, the head priest of Sirkan in the district of Kirman, had tried to introduce some innovations among the Zoroastrians of that place-innovations that were the result of his having come into some contact at Sarakhs with the Turkish tribe of Tughazghus (تغزغز the Tagazguz (طغزغز of Mucoudi), who followed the tenets of Mâni. Among these innovations, one aimed at some change in the purificatory ceremony of the Bareshnum. The people of Sirkân protested against these innovations and wrote to Manushcheher, who was the chief Dastur of the Zoroastrians in the province of Shiraz.

In his letter in reply to the people of Sirkân, Manushcheher refers to the subject of the use of pebbles in the Nirangdin ceremony, wherein the *gāomez* used in the Bareshnum purification was consecrated, It appears, that Zadsparam

1. " Sagchak dayan ramitnet " Spiegel's Pahlavi Vendidad p. 136, l. 4.

2. Epistles I chap. VII 16-18; chap. IX 6. Ervad Bamanji Nasarvanji Dhabhar's text, Nâmakihâ i Manûshchihar p. 36 and p. 40.

seemed to neglect the use of the 300 pebbles (sang سنگ). Thereupon Manushcheher directs that the custom may be continued. Even at that time, some commentators, like Medyomâh, said that their use was not proper or necessary and others like Afarg said that it was proper. Manushcheher directs that the custom may be continued. While in the Pahlavi Vendidâd, the word for pebbles is *sag*, here, in the epistles, it is *sang*.

The second epistle also refers to the use of 300 pebbles. Therein Manushcheher speaks of having himself performed the ritual. He says:

(1) ماناسپند ہیر مانوشچیہ ماہیر ایتر ہم کیتم دم ماہم ہوم ایتر ہوت ہوگ

i.e. I myself have consecrated the water and the cow's urine. I have as ordered (in religious books), thrown 300 pebbles in them.

I have found a further proof, which leads to confirm my view, that the present use of *Sangrizeh* or pebbles during the recital of the 19th Chapter of the Vendidâd in the Nirangdin ceremony is a relic of an old custom, wherein stones were used for the purpose of counting the recital of 200 Ahunavars or Yatha-Ahu-Vairyos and 100 Ashem Vohus. While studying this subject, I had requested my friend Ervad Manockjee Rustomji Unvala, whose library of old manuscripts has often been of much use to me, to look for an old manuscript of the Vendidad that may contain an account of some ritual. He has kindly produced before me a manuscript of the Vendidad that contains at the end a few details in Pahlavi of the ritual of Nirangdin, As suggested by him, his manuscript is a copy of an older manuscript in the Mula Feroze Library. I will take that original manuscript as my authority. It bears on the cover the title of

وندیداد سادہ با یزشنہ و وسپرد و نیرنگ بخط ایران

i. e. The Vendidâd Sâdeh with Yazashneh and Visparad and ritual in Irânian handwriting."[2]

1, Ervad B. N. Dhabhar's text, p. 69, ll. 3-5.

2 The manuscript has two colophons, one at the end of the 8th *pargard* (folio 182, b) and the other at the end of the manuscript. In the first colophon the writer gives his name as

خسرو یت-ولایر لهراسپ ت-ستوت-ل ۷۸۸۱۳۱۵۶ ۵-ش ۶ ۳۱۳۱۳ یر

i. e. Khushrub (son of) the holy-souled Rustum Shatrôyar Mâhvandâd Vahrâm Mitroâpân. He adds that he wrote his manuscript from the copy of the book (daftar) of the heavenly holy-souled (Beheshtbehreh Anosherobân) Siâ vakhsh Shatroyâr Artashir.

In the colophon at the end of the manuscript also the author gives his name as above, but carries forward his geneology further by the following additional names after Mitroâpân in the above list. Anousheroban

The account of the ritual of the subject in question runs thus :—

ایتر ہم ۸۸۱۳۱۵۶ ہیر ۱۳۱۳ ۱۳۱۳۱۳ ہم ۱۳۱۳۱۳ ہیر

calls himself an inhabitant of the Bunder of Surat. The date is day Hormazd Mâh Daê Kadim, year 1159 Yazdazardi. In the Persian colophon, the writer adds one more name to his ascending geneology and that name is Faridun. He adds that the book was written in the Bandar of Mumbai (Bombay) and in an Atesh Behram (*dargâh-i pâk* Atash Varharâm).

This colophon gives us the name and the approximate date of the writer of the other manuscript of the Vendidad, which gives us the ritual of the Vendidâd about the use of the pebbles. With this help, we find that Mr. M. R. Unvala's manuscr ipt was writteu in Bombay after the establishment of the Dadyseth Atash Behrâm.

The above account of the use of the pebbles in a Parsee ritual serves as an excellent example of the growth of thoughts, even spiritual thoughts. We now live in an age of a belief in a kind of Evolution. All things evolve. There is no spontaneous generation. There is physical evolution, as well as mental, moral and spiritual evolution. Physical things serve as symbols and create moral and spiritual thoughts. Thus, even spiritual ideas are evolved from lower physical planes. All spiritual ideas, connected with rituals in different communities, have such an origin. We are speaking of developing or cultivating our spiritual ideas. Ritual has some part or some hand in such development, and we find, that even ritual has its own evolution. At times it begins with, the purpose of ordinary physical matter. The physical aspect is, later on, symbolized. The symbolization is the commencement of the growth of spiritual ideas.

To sum up, the different grades in the process of the evolution of spiritual thoughts in the matter of the use of pebbles can be thus stated :—

1. In old primitive times, pebbles were one of the easily-found and convenient means or instruments for the purpose of counting.
2. Beginning with secular matters, they began to be used in religious matters or ceremonies for the purpose of counting small prayers that were enjoined to be recited hundreds or thousands of times.
3. Their connection with religious matters or rituals, transferred to them some of the sanctity of the ritual itself or of the prayers themselves.
4. With the introduction of some better and more convenient instruments or means of counting, like the rosaries, they ceased to be used for the original purpose of counting. But the idea of sanctity or purity,

borrowed by them or given to them at a later stage, continued to be associated with them.

5. Being thus considered as instruments or means of purification or consecration, they themselves began, in the first stage, to be purified or consecrated before being used for the purpose of purification or consecration They thus received an additional element for elevating the thoughts of participants in the ritual.

In connection with these grades of evolution in thought, it seems, that beads of rosaries may have very likely taken their form from the form of the pebbles. The beads of all kinds of rosaries, whatever be their material—gold, silver, glass, amber, turquoise, &c.—are generally round. The pebbles which had come into use before rosaries, were generally, from their very nature, round, though not always exactly round. So, these round pebbles may have suggested the roundness of the beads of rosaries.

A TIBETAN FORM OF SALUTATION SUGGESTING AN EXPLANATION OF A PARSEE RITUAL.

BY

Shams-ul-Ulma Dr. Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, B. A, Ph. D.

The Ritual of holding up of flowers in the Afringân ceremony.

During the recitals of all Âfringâns,[1] the Parsee priests of India place 8 flowers before them in a tray which contains some fruits of the season and cups of milk, water and wine. After the recital of the particular Âfringân or *Kardeh*, in honour of a particular yazata, the priests recite a ***kardeh***, which is common for all kinds Âfringâns.[2] This ***kardeh*** is a prayer for the ruling king. At the commencement of the recital of this ***kardeh***, the Joti or the senior officiating priest, takes up two of the above 8 flowers before him and gives one to the Râspi or Âtravakhshi and himself holds the other. They hold the flowers in an upright direction, pointing, as it were, to heaven. When there are more than two priests—there may be hundreds—only the one who begins and officiates is called Joti. All others are Raspis. The others have a flower supplied to each of them beforehand. So, they hold up that flower at the commencement of the above ***kardeh***, containing the prayer for the king.

The signification attached at present to the holding of the flowers.

Now, the question is:—What is the signification of this ritual? What does the holding of the flowers by the priests in their hands signify?" The words recited during the process of holding these flowers are "Ahurahê Mazdâo raêvatô kharênanghatô âfrînâmi khshathryân danghu-paiti." These words can be freely translated thus: "O. Resplendent and Glorious Ahura Mazda! I pray for my ruling soverign." Our books do not explain, why, at the recital of this prayer for the king, flowers are held up by the congregation. I myself, and I think others also, thought, that perhaps, by holding up one flower in the hand at the recital of these words, what was meant was: that, as Ahura Mazda or God

1 Haug's Essays on the Parsis, 2nd Edition, pp. 408-9. Zend-Avesta par Darmesteter Vol. II p. 723-25.

2 For the text of this *kardeh*, vide Westergaard's Avesta, Âfringân I, 14, p. 321. For the translation of the *kardeh*, vide my Extracts from Zoroastrian books, p. 8.

was one, so the ruling king was one, and all our loyalty was due to him. But now, I find that this interpretation is not correct. My study of a Tibetan custom, suggested by my visit to Darjeeling, teaches me, what I think to be, a correct explanation. The object of this paper is to give that correct explanation.

A Tibetan mode of salutation.

The Tibetans have peculiar modes of salutation. I have dwelt elsewhere,[1] at some length, on this subject. But, to make this paper complete in itself, and to make it more intelligible, I will repeat here, in short what I have said there. Colonel Waddell thus speaks of the Tibetan salutations: "The different modes of salutation were curiously varied amongst the several nationalities. The Tibetan doffs his cap with his right hand and making a bow pushes forward his left ear and puts out his tongue, which seems to me to be an excellent example of the 'self-surrender of the person salutating to the individul he salutes,' which Herbert Spencer has shown to lie at the bottom of many of our modern practices of salutation. The pushing forward of the left ear evidently recalls the old Chinese practice of cutting off the left ears of prisoners of war and presenting them to the victorious chief. The Mongol, without removing his hat, bows low, placing both palms on the front of his thighs; though equals stretch out both hands, and seizing the other's squeeze and then shake them. The Bhotanese, who often go bareheaded, take the end of their plaid from their shoulders and spread it out as if offering a tray of presents, and at the same time bow low. The Nepalese and Mahomedans make a salaam, bowing and touching their forehead with the palm side of the lips of their fingers, thereby screening their face for the moment from the sacred view of the person they salute."[2]

M. Bonvalot speaking of a Tibetan's mode of salutation, says: He "lifts up his thumbs and protrudes an enormous tongue, while he bows profoundly."[3] He further says: "They express disagreement by joining the thumb-nails, and agreement by putting them just the opposite way. Putting the thumb up means approval and satisfaction; raising the little finger[4] denotes hostility, while to keep it in this position and at the same time to shake head signifies dislike. The two

1 Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay, Vol. X, No. 3.

2 "Lhasa and its Mysteries," pp. 423-24.

3 "Across Tibet," being a translation of Bonvalot's "De Paris au Tonkiu à travers le Tibet inconnu" by C. B. Pitman (1891), Vol. II, p. 2. Vide also p. 8.

4. cf. The practice among our children to hold out the last finger, saying *katti* (કટ્ટી), when they want to show hostility.

thumbs placed perpendicularly one above the other, with the tongue hanging out, denote superlative approval."[1]

M. Le De Milloué thus speaks of their salutation : "Il salue en ôtant son chapeau, comme en Europe, et demeure tête nue devant toute personne qu'il respecte.....il complète son salut par deux gestes.....il tire la langue en l'arrondissant et se gratte l'oreille Quand il se présente devant un supéreur, il se prosterne neuf fois jusqu'à toucher de son front le parquet.....Un élément indespensable de la politesse tibétaine est le don d'une sorte d'écharpe de soie appelée *Khata* 'écharpe de félicité'."[2]

Mr. Rockhill[3] also speaks of "lolling out the tongue" as a kind of saluation. He then adds : "The lower classes here, when saluting superiors, are in the habit of bending the knee very low, putting the right hand beside the right cheek and the left hand under the elbow of the right arm, at the same time sticking out the tongue."[4] In another place he says : "Anyang, who is a brother of Bonbo order, saluted him in a peculiar fashion, the like of which I have not heretofore seen. He kotowed three times, and then both of them crouched in front of each other and made their heads touch."[5]

All the above statements of different travellers show that the following were the prominent modes of salutation.

1 To take off the cap.
2 To push forward the left ear.
3 To put out the tongue.
4 To make a bow.
5 To prostrate one's self.
6 To bend the knee.
7 To hold up the thumb.

They all point to the principle of "self-surrender" referred to by Herbert Spencer, as pointed out by Dr. Waddell. The person saluting, submitted his head, his ear, his tongue, his whole body, to the person whom he saluted, saying, as it were : "All these are at your disposal ; you may, if you like, cut them off or do

1 Bonvalot's Across Tibet, p. 79.
2 Bod Youl ou Tibet, p. 60.
3 Journey through Mongolia and Tibet by W.W. Rockhill (1894), p. 240.
4 Ibid, p. 241. 5 Ibid, p. 280.

anything you like with them." We know that cutting off the ear, tongue, head &c. were formerly some of the modes of punishment in Central Asia. So, the saluter, as it were, said to the person whom you saluted : "You are my superior. I am your humble servant. You may do whatever you like with the various parts of my body." The most common mode is that of submitting the head. Most of the modern ways of saluting are connected with the head and signify a kind of head-surrender.

The signification of the thumb salute.

Now, what was the signification of the thumb-salute? One may perhaps say, that it also signified a kind of self-surrender. The person saluting submitted his thumb to be done away with. Or, perhaps, the thumb represented the hand, and the saluter offered his hand to be cut off. But, I think, the raising of the thumb was meant to point to the Heavens and was intended to say, that the person trusted upon God and placed his head, ear, and tongue at the disposal of the other person. It seems, that at first, the raising of the thumb, accompanied the other movements, *viz* those of the head, ear or tongue, but, latterly it formed of itself a separate form of salutation. With salutation, it carried the idea of approval and satisfaction. We learn from Tibetan travellers, that in the midst of conversation, when one wanted to express his approval or consent to, or agreement with, what you said, he raised his thumb. Thus, the raising of the thumb meant consent or approval.

We learn from Firdousi,[1] that there prevailed in ancient Irân also, the custom of raising a finger to express consent. In Firdousi's account of the reign of Kâus, we read, that, when Pirân, entrusted to some of the shepherds of Turân, infant Kaikhosru, to be brought up by them in solitude, away from the knowledge of the world, they consented. They raised their fingers and placed them over their eyes and head.

The custom in Persia

On talking over the subject with Mr. Khodayar Sheheryar Dastur of Persia, I find, that there still prevails among the Zoroastrians of Persia, a custom of raising a finger to express a kind of approval. That custom is prevalent in connection with a ritual in the Âfringân ceremony. Since my conversation with Mr. Khodayar, his paper on some of the Zoroastrian

1 نهاد نه انگشت برچشم و سر Vullers Schahname, Vol. II p. 673 *l.* 2648. Mecan's Calcutta edition, p. 482 *l.* 3. Mohl's Paris edition, Vol. II, p. 420.

ceremonies as observed in Persia, has come to my hands for publication in the Sir Jamshedji Madresa Jubilee Volume. Therein, while describing the Âfringân ceremony during the celebration of the Gâhambar, Mr. Khodayar says as follows:—

"On that day, at a certain hour, all those people of the adjoining districts, villages and towns, males and females, young and old, Zoroastrians and aliens, who can afford to come, resort to the place of the Gâhambâr. Mobeds are also invited to consecrate the abovementioned articles of food and to offer blessings upon the donor and the people of the house.

"Within a small space occupied by the *mobeds*, are placed all those dry and fresh fruits and other eata bles also. One of the *mobeds*, who acts as an officiating priest, has the dry fruits put before him. All the fresh fruits are cut into two halves. Another priest, acting as a Rathvî, stands in front of the solemnizer, and the Afringân-i Gâhambâr is initiated by the officiating priest and recited jointly by all the priests present. Here the service of another man called Dahmobed[1] is called in. When the officiating priest reaches the point 'Afrinâmi Khshathryân,' he takes up two of the five blades of the myrtle, which are always required for the ceremony on such occasions, giving one to the Râthvi and keeping the other in his own hand. At this juncture, the Dahmobed calls out, in a loud tone, 'Afrinâmi,' in answer to which the whole congregation raise up the first fingers of their right hands, individually, in token of their concord with the officiating priest in his praise of the King of the time, for the formula, 'Afrinâmi,' is in praise of the king and is intended to show the fidelity, loyalty and attachment of the ancient Zoroastrians to their kings.

"Again, the officiating priest, when coming up to the word 'Vispokhâthrem,' takes up other two blades of the remaining myrtle, giving, as before, one to the Râthvi and keeping the other for himself. At this juncture again, the Dahmobed vociferates 'Vispokhâthrem' and raises up his middle finger, in persuance of which all the lay people do the same, therey showing that they are unanimous with the officiating priest in his prayers. But the priests including the Râthvi join the solemnizer by holding one another's hands, or by other means, keeping pace all the while, with one another, in the recitation of

1 Dahmobed is a man appointed publicly to perform minor duties and services in connection with Gâhambâr, Marriage, Funeral and other public ceremonies.

the formula, thereby meaning that they are supplementing the strength of the mind of the solemnizer by that of themselves, in producing the desired purpose. When nearing the end of the 'Afrinâmi' formula, the officiating priest effecting three rounds of the 'Nanah[1],' jointly with the Râthvi, over the dry fruits, concludes it by 'Ashem Vohu' which is again called out by the Dahmobed. The Dahmobed while uttering 'Ashem Vohu' raises his two up-lifted fingers to his mouth and then to his forehead. This operation is imitated by the lay audience."

The holding up of flowers signifies approval.

Now, through the medium of Firdousi's above statement about the ancient custom of holding up fingers for an expression of consent, and through the medium of Mr. Khodayar's above description of the modern custom as observed in the recital of the Afringân in Persia, we revert to the custom of holding up flowers among the Zoroastrians of India. We find, that instead of holding up their fingers to express their association with the officiating priest in the prayer for the king, the Zoroastrians of India hold up flowers. In Persia, only the two priests hold up flowers and the rest of the congregation hold up fingers, but in India, all hold up flowers. Thus, we see that the holding up of flowers in the ritual of the Afringân signifies consent, approval, or association in the prayer.

A funeral custom of touching the ground with fingers.

I suspect, that the following custom, observed by me, for the first time, during my last visit at Naosari, when attending the funeral procession of my esteemed preceptor and friend, the late Ervad Edalji Kersaspji Antia, has, perhaps, some connection with the custom of expressing satisfaction or approval by means of fingers. The custom is this: The mourners on leaving the compound of the Tower of Silence, touch the ground with their fingers which are covered by the skirt of their *jâmâ* and recite an Yathâ Ahu Vairyô. They then walk a few steps and repeat the process. They do so thrice. In the Tamâm Avesta, by the late Mr. Dadabhoy Cawasji[2], we read this custom thus enjoined:

" ધરની તરફ થોડીં એક કદમ ચાલીને જમીન શુજારે જમને હાથે કપડાંનું પેવંદ ધરીને તે હાથ જમીન ઉપર મુકે, જમના પગનું ગુહણ જમીન ઉપર મુકીને ધયથા અહુ વેધરીએા ૧ પહીચાં પછી તરણ કદમ ચાલીને ફરી બીજી

1 "Nanah" is a small metallic decanter-shaped instrument mounted on four legs, and is always used in Jashan and Gahambar ceremonies by the officiating priest. It should be always filled up with water.

1 Vol. I (1240 Yazdazardi, 1871 A.D.), p. 660.

વાર એમજ પેવંદ જમીન સુધી ધરીને ધ્યથા અહુવેરીએા ૧ પઢે. ફરી તરીજી વાર બી એજ રવેશે ધ્યથા એહુવેરીએા ૧ પઢી રહેત્યા પછી સરેાશ બાજ અશહે સુધી પઢીને ધ્યથા અહુવેરીએા પઢતાં પધતાં જે ગુજરેએા એાએ તેને ઘેર જાએ તાંહાં બેસી સરેાજ બાજ મુકીને પેાતાને ઘર જાએ અને સેતાબીથી ગેાસલ કરે."

From Prof. Khodayar Sheheryar's paper on "The Funeral ceremonies of the Zoroastrians in Persia," I learn that there is a somewhat similar custom in Persia. While speaking of the funeral procession, which starts from the Zadomarg, he says:

"After the priests have finished their recitation, the dead body is taken out of the Zado Marg[1] . . . . The procession proceeding to a certain place, stops. The escort, so to say, with the bier and a few priests, who are to follow the corpse to the Dakhmah, proceed on their way. All the remaining priests, finishing their *iristanâm*[2] formula which they have been reciting repeatedly, sit on their legs with the two fingers of their right hands resting on the ground. At this juncture they begin the 'Yasnemcha' formula, and coming up to 'Shraoshahe' they raise up their fingers from the ground ard make a pass or a kind of manipulation of the hand for every word, from the right side to the left of their heads above the ear till the 'Sraoshahe' formula is at an end."

The Persian custom differs a little from the Naosari custom. The principal difference is this, that while in Persia, it is performed by those who part from the procession at the end of the street and who do not follow the bier, at Naosari, it is performed at the place of the Tower by those who have followed the bier.

I think in the case of this custom, the mourners express, by means of their fingers, a kind of resignation, or contentment with what has occurred, *viz* the death of a relative or a friend and say, as it were, to themselves, that they also have to be disposed of there one day.

1 Zado Marg is a house in the street where the dead are taken for the performance of the Geh-Sarna ceremory before removal to the tower.

2 It is the short prayer in honour of all the dead. It runs thus:
"Idha iristanâm urvânô yazamaide yâo ashaonâm fravashayô." This formula is variously translated. The general sense is this: "We remember here the souls of the dead which are those of the Farohars of the holy."

THE GEH SÂRNÂ RECITAL AS ENJOINED, AND AS RECITED ABOUT 150 YEARS AGO.

BY

Shams-ul-Ulma Dr. Jivanji Jamsetji Modi B.A., Ph. D.

The *Geh-sârnâ* ceremony.

The funeral service, held near a corpse before its removal to the Tower, is known as the Geh-Sârnâ prayer. The words "Geh Sârnâ" come from the Avesta words, "Gathâ Srâvayant" *i.e.* "sing the Gathâs." The word *Geh* is Pahlavi *gâç* ગાગ, Avesta Gatha. Sârna is the Gujraticised form of Pers. Saraidan (سرائیدن) to sing which comes from Avesta *sru* (سْرُ), which, in its causal form, means to 'chant.'

As enjoined by the Vendidad.

When we look to the Vendidad, as to what is enjoined therein to be recited on such an occasion, we find the following: In the 9th chapter of the Vendidad, a question from Zarathushtra to Ahura Mazda runs thus:

"O Holy Creator of the material world! How am I to drive away from here the Druj, who (emanating) from the dead, attacks the living? How am I to oppose here the Naçu, which, (emanating) from the dead, infects the living?"

Then Ahura Mazda replied: You recite from the Gatha those words which are *Bishâ-Mruta* (*i.e.* repeated twice); you recite from the Gatha those words which are *Thrishâ mruta* (*i.e.* repeated thrice); you recite from the Gatha those words which are *Chathrushâ mruta* (*i.e.* repeated four-times). O Spitama Zarathushtra! (on this recital,) the Naçush, will fly away (*i.e.* disappear) as fast as a well-drawn arrow, as a year-dry (blade of) straw, as the seasonal growth (of vegetation).[1]

The above question and answer are repeated in the 10th chapter[2], where we find some additional questions and answers. The questions are, as to what are the abovementioned *Bishâ mruta*, *thrishâ mruta* and *Chathrushâ mruta* words of the Gatha The answers give references to various passages in the

1 Chap. IX 45 et seq. 2 Chap. X 1-2.

different chapters of the Yaçna. In addition to those passages to which references are given, some other passages are given verbatim, which all are to be recited as *bishâ mruta*, *thrishâ mruta*, and *chathrushâ mruta* words.

As practised at present.

According to the present custom, the above passages are not recited as enjoined by the Vendidad. But, in their stead, all the consecutive seven chapters of the Ahunavaiti Gatha (XXVIII-XXXIV) are recited. All the above references and quotations show, that the Vendidad itself does not enjoin the recital of the Ahunavaiti Gatha which it is the present custom to recite.

When, and how did the present custom of reciting the seven chapters of the Ahunavaiti Gatha came in, is a question worth-inquiring

I will shortly describe the *geh-sârna* ceremony here. "Two priests perform the *kusti* and after reciting the prayers for the particular *Gâh*, go to the chamber where the dead body is placed, and, standing at the door or at some distance from the body and holding a *paiwand* between them, put on the *padân* over their face, take the *bâj* and recite the Ahunavaiti Gâthâ (Yaçna chaps. 28 to 34, both inclusive) which treats of Ahura Mazdâ, his Ameshaspentas or immortal archangels, the future life, resurrection and similar other subjects. When they recite nearly half of the *gâthâ* up to Ha XXXI, 4, they cease reciting for some time. Then the *sagdîd* is performed, the Nasasalars lift the body from the slabs of stone and place it over the iron bier. Then the two priests turn to the bier and commence to recite the remaining half of the Gatha. When the recital of the *gâthâ* is finished, a *sagdid* is preformed once more."[1]

The object of the Paper.

The subject of this paper also is suggested to me by the study of the Tibetan mode of the disposal of the dead. I want to show that the present custom of reciting all the seven chapters of the Ahunavaiti Gatha at home, before the removal of the body, is a comparatively modern custom. The old custom was to make half the recital at home, and the other half on the way to the Tower of silence, during the funeral march.

Proofs for the older custom.

There are one or two facts, connected with the ceremony itself, which lead to prove this.

(*a*) Firstly, the fact, that after half the recital (Chap. XXXI, 4) the *sagdîd* is preformed, shows, that at first it was intended that

1 Vide my "Funeral Ceremonies of the Parsees. Their origin and explanation", pp. 13-14.

the ceremony at home should end there. The Sagdid is performed at the end, or at the commencement of a period, not in the middle For example, it is performed at the end of one *gâh* and the commencement of the next *gâh*, but not during the middle of the gâh. So, the Sagdîd, at the recital of Chap. XXXI, 4 shows, that, at one time, that was taken to be the end of the ceremony at home.

(*b*) Secondly, the removal of the body from the stone slabs and placing it on the bier, at the end of the recital of Chap. XXXI, 4, meant that the home recital was finished and preparation was made for the removal.

The custom at Surat, about 150 years ago, according to Anquetil Du Perron.

I am supported in this view by what Anquetil Du Perron says of the custom which he had observed at Surat. It appears, that even 150 years ago, during the time of Anquetil's visit of Surat (1758-61), the practice was to recite only half the Ahunavaiti Gâtha at the house. The rest was recited during the funeral march. Anquetil, while speaking of the Funeral ceremonies as observed in Surat, says, that after the recital of the chapters 28, 29, 30 and 31, and after the usual Sagdîd after this recital as at present, the body on being placed on the bier was removed by the Nasasalars out of doors. I give below the whole of the passage of Anquetil.[1]

"Les Mobeds regardant donc le cercueil, récitent l'Iescht gâhan.....et récitent les 28, 29, 30, 31 *hâs* de l'Izeschné, qui sont les quatre premiers Cardés du Gâh Honoüet; et à ces paroles du quatriéme Cardé, *iéhïâ oûeretâ veînînâ drodjem*,...ils se taisent et se tournent vers les Nesasalars qui.....mettent le corps dans le cercueil, et le portent dehors. Alors le Mobed fait un signe, continue dans le même lieu le trente uniéme *hâ* de l'Izeschné, recite les 32, 33 et 34.....Après cela les Nesasalars portent le mort au Dakhmé, le cercueil convert d'un linceul.

Translation —The Mobeds then look at the coffin, recite the Yasht gâhân .. and recite the 28, 29, 30, 31 *Hâs* of the Yazashné, which form the first four Cardês of the Ahunavat Gâtha; and at the words of the fourth *karde*, *iéhiâ oûeretâ veîninâ drodjem*, they cease reciting and turn towards the Nesasalars, who.....place the

1 Zend Avesta. Tome II, pp, 582-84.

corpse on the bier[1] and carry it out of doors. Then the Mobad makes a sign, continues in the same place the 31st Ha of the Yazashné, recites the 32, 33 and 34 *hâs*... Afterwards the Nesasalars carry the dead to the Dakhmê, the bier being covered with a shroud.

According to Anquetil, the practice at Kerman is clearly the same. He says :

"Au Kirman, à ces paroles (iéhiâ oûeretâ veînînâ drodjem) du quatriéme *Cardé*, on refait le Sagdid. Les Nesasalars mettent le mort dans le cercueil et le portent hors de la maison. Le mort étant dans le cercueil, la tête dècouverte, les Mobeds le regardent, achêvent le quatriéme *Cardé*, et récitent les trois autres en suivant le convoi"[2]

Translation.—At Kirman, at these words of the fourth Kardeh, they perform the Sagdîd again. The Nesasalars place the dead body on the bier and carry it out of the house. The dead body being placed on the bier, the head (*i.e.* the face) uncovered, the Mobeds look at it, finish the fourth Kardeh and recite the three others on following the funeral procession.

This account of the custom at Kerman makes the point quite clear.

Lastly, we have the authority of the Ithoter Revâyet. This is a collection of the replies of seventy eight (*ithoter*) questions of the Parsees of Surat to the Dasturs of Persia. Among the questioners, we find the names of Dastur Darab bin Dastur Sohrâb (the teacher of Anquetil Du Perron), Dastur Kâus Munajjam, Dastur Kaus bin Dastur Rustam Sanjana, Behedin Dhunjeeshaw Munchershaw and others. The 33rd question is, as to whether the recital of the Geh sârnâ is vitiated, if, after the priests have recited half of it, somebody passes between the officiating priests and the corpse. The answer from Persia is that it is not vitiated. At the end of their reply, they say, that they are to recite the second half on the way to the Towers. They say :

از جاي جسد بجاي وبدرونسر خاموش بردن تا مردهرا نساسالار بر گاهان بندد و بر دارد
در آن وقت موبدان در دنبال مرده بردند وبشت گاهان بجا بخوانند [3]

1 *i. e.* the *gehân*. 2 Zend Avesta Tome II, p. 584 note 1.

3 هفتاد وبشت روایت فارسی پرشش و پاسخ Manuscript copy of the Moola Feroze Library No. 351, folio 22.

Ervad Manockji Rustamji Unwala's. Ms. p. 71. This Ms. was written for Burzo bin Pallonji bin Behramji Desai, one of the Zemindars (زمینداران) of Naosari. Writer, Dastur Jamshedji bin Rustamji bin

Translation.—From the place (*i.e.* the words) *Tat môi vîchtdyâi*, the priests have to remain silent. So that the Nasesalars may fasten the corpse on the *gehân* and lift it up. Then the Mobeds may follow the corpse and complete the Yasht gâhân.

The Gujarati translation of this passage as published runs thus :

"મોબેદો ગેહે સારે છે તે તદમોબ્બે વીચેદીબ્બાનાં પદ પઢીને બામોશ રેહેછે. તેહવારે નશાશાલાર મુરદાંને ગેહાંન ઉપર બાંધીને તે નશાશાલાર ગેહાન ઉઠાવીને લેઇ ચાલે તેહની પાછવાડે મોબેદો અરધું ગેહ શારણું બાકી રહેહું છે તે રવાનની પછવાડે પઢતા ચાલે તે ગેહેશારણું તમામ કરે"[1]

The question of the Indian Zoroastrians suggests the reason, why they latterly resorted to the practice of reciting the whole of the prayer at the house. It was a doubt entertained by some, that, when on the way to the Tower of Silence, while the other half of the prayer was being recited, somebody —a man or a dog—may, by chance, pass between the corpse and the Mobeds who follow the corpse reciting the Gâthâ, and thus vitiate the ceremony. The doubt seems to have arisen from the fact, that the Vendidad enjoins that the priest must first (*paoirîm*) pass over the way by which a corpse is carried. The question and answer are these : "O Holy Creator of the material world ! How does the road, from which a dead man or a dead dog is carried, become passable for cattle etc". ? The reply is : "First the Âthravan (*i.e.* the priest) should pass by the road reciting the victorious words (of Yathâ Ahu Vairyô and Kemnâ Mazda.)"[2]

Though the Dasturs of Persia had solved the doubt, and said, that there was nothing wrong if some body passed between the corps and the priests, the solution seems to have had no effect and the practice of reciting the whole of the prayer at home seems to have crept in.

Up to a few years, the recital was only one, and that at home. There was no recital at all on the way to the Tower. But since a few years ago, the richer class got the whole of the *Gâtha* also recited on the way to the tower, and now

Dastur Khurshedji bin Dastur Jamshedji bin Jamaspji. Written on roz Hormuz mah Sherivar 1215, Hindi Samvant 1903. The peculiarity of this Ms. is that every word has a red ink dot on it.

(૧) દીને બેહ માજદોબ્બશનીનાં હરતાહો હસ્ત પોરશોશ પાશોખ ઇબ્બાને ઇડોતેર રેવાએત, શેહ પ્રશ્નબ્બ કાવસબ્બ બનાબ્બની બાહેશાથી છાપનાર મીં કાવરાબ્બ ફરદુનબ્બ મરજબાનબ્બ. (૧૮૪૬ ઇશવી.) p 93.

Vide also Mr. Manockji R. Unvala's Ms., written in 1167 Yazdizardi, by Mobed Darab bin Framroz Munajjam, folios 150-51.

2. Vendidâd VIII, 14, 2

the practice has become well-nigh general. The whole of the Ahunavaiti Gatha is recited at home and the whole is recited again on the way to the Tower. At Naosari, and at other mofussil towns, there is no second recital on the way to the tower.

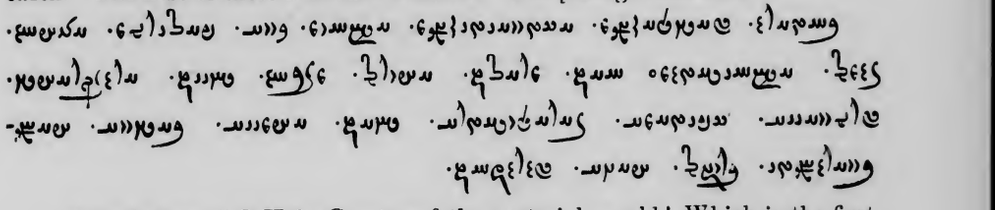
MOUNT ARÊZÛRA OF THE AVESTA. A VOLCANIC MOUNTAIN.

Mount Arêzûra (𐬀𐬭𐬌𐬵𐬎𐬭𐬀) is twice referred to in the Avesta.

Two References to Arézûra in the Avesta and their signification

It is first referred to in the third chapter of the Vendidad.[1] At first, five places are mentioned which feel most joy on the surface of the earth. The first of these is a religious place where the sacred fire is burning and where religious ceremonies are performed and prayers recited.

Then five places are mentioned which feel most grief on the surface of the earth. The first of these is Mount Arézûra. The passage runs thus:



Translation—"O Holy-Creator of the material world! Which is the first (place) on this earth that is the most sorrowful?"

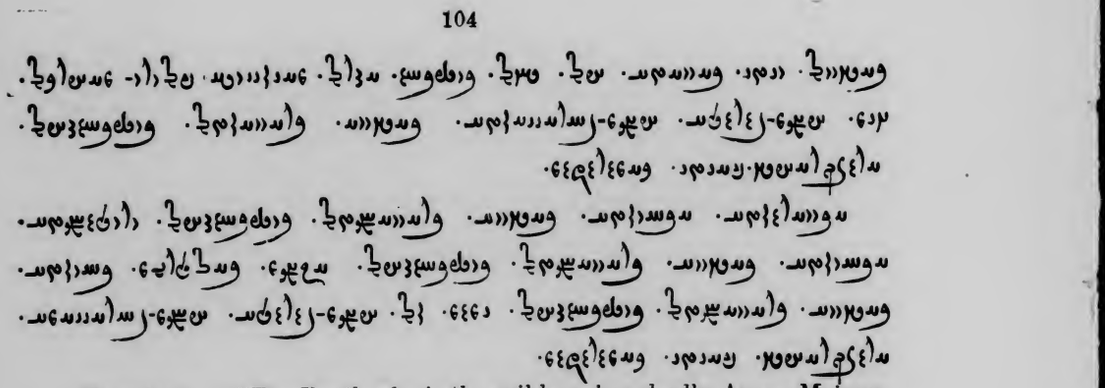
Then Ahura Mazda replied: "O Spitama Zarathushtra! (It is) the ridge[2] of the Arezûra, on which the demons and the Druj run up from the pit."

The next reference to Mount Arézûra is in the 19th chapter (44-45) of the Vendidad. It is a chapter wherein we find many allusions to the life of Zoroaster. Angra Mainyu (Âhriman) tries to kill the prophet. On failing to do so, he tries to tempt him from the path of virtue. He and his followers, failing in this attempt also, are driven to despair and they all meet together at Arézûra.

The passages run thus:

1 Vendidad III, 7

2 Sans. ग्रीवा, neck.



Translation.—"The Devil, who is the evil-knowing, deadly Angra Mainyu, shouted thus :'Whom do the erring, evil-knowing demons carry with them in an assembly on the summit of Arézûra ?.

"The erring, evil-knowing demons rushed forth and shouted: the erring, evil-knowing demons cried out and shouted : the erring, evil-knowing demons cast a malignant eye and shouted : ' We will carry him (Zoroaster) with us in our assembly on the summit of Arézûra.' "

Then follows a passage wherein the demons express their despair at not being able to overcome Zoroaster. The purport of these passages is, that the demons thought of misleading Zoroaster and of taking him to their abode on Mount Arezûra, but they failed.

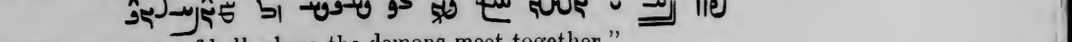
What do the above two references in the Avesta to Mount Arézûra show ? They show, that the mountain was considered to be the worst place on the surface of the earth, and that it was the abode of demons or the evil spirits.

References in the Pahlavi books.

Coming to the Pahlavi literature, we will first examine the Pahlavi translations of the above Avesta passages.

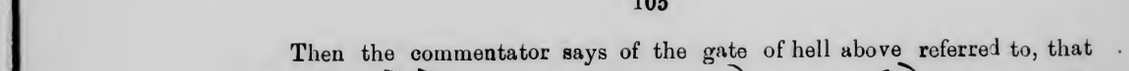
(a) The Pahlavi Vendidad.

Firstly, looking to the Pahlavi translation of the 7th passage of the third chapter of the Vendidad, we find that the commentators spoke of Mount Arézûra as "pavan babâ-i-duzakhhu, âig dayen zak shaedâ val ham dubârend"



i.e , "on the gate of hell where the demons meet together."

Then the commentator says of the gate of hell above referred to, that



duzakhhu i azir zamik min azpar madam âsmân avash babâ lâlâ val zamik, *i e.* "Hell, which is below the earth from above the sky—its gate is above the earth." This sentence says, that the hell is below the earth, but, at the same time its gate is above, *i.e.*, on the surface of the earth.

Then, coming to the Pahlavi translation of the reference to Arézûra in the 19th chapter of the Vendidad, we do not find any more light thrown upon the question. In all the manuscripts, the translation of a part of the obove Avesta sentence is omitted.

Thus, from the Pahlavi commentaries, we learn that therein the summit of the Arezûra is distinctly identified as the gate of hell, which is under the earth

(b) The Bundehesh.

Now, coming to other Pahlavi writers, we find this identification further confirmed. The Bundehesh gives a list of the mountains in its 12th chapter. There, a large number of the mountains is spoken of as peaks or mountains, but Arêzûra is spoken of as 'Arézûra pûsht,' *i.e.*, the back or ridge of Arêzûra.[1] At another place in the same chapter[2] it is spoken of as 'Arêzûr grievak *i.e.*, the summit Arêzûr, or the narrow neck of Arêzûr. Then, of its situation, it is said that "it is on the gate of hell where the demons meet together."[3]

(c) The Shâyast-lâ-Shâyast

Again, in the Shâyast-lâ-Shâyast[4], where the five pleasures and displeasures of the earth, referred to in the Vendidad, are enumerated, Mount Arêzûr is referred to and associated with 'the gate of hell.'

(d) The Dâdistân-i-Dinik,

In the Dâdistân-i-Dini[5], there is a question, which asks: "In which direction and which land is hell and how is it?" In reply, it is said : it is " the place of a soul of the wicked, after its

1 S B E, V. chap. XII, 2.

2 *Ibid.* chap. XII., 8.

3 Pavan babâ i duzakhu munash hamvàr shaêdân dvārashnih temmam vâdunend. (*Vide* my Bundehesh, pp. 38-39).

4 S. B. E. V , Shâyast-lâ-Shâyast chap. XIII, 19.

5 S. B. E. XVIII., Dâdistân, chap. XXXIII, 1-5.

passing away from the body," and that it is in three places. It is then added : "These three places, collectively, are called hell, which is northerly, descending, and underneath this earth, even unto the utmost declivity of the sky ; and its gate is in the earth, a place of the northern quarter, and is called the Arezûr ridge, a mountain which, among its fellow mountains of the name of Arézûr, that are amid the rugged mountains, is said in revelation to have a great fame with the demons, and the rushing together and assembly of the demons in the world are on the summit of that mountain, or as it is called 'the head of Arézûr.'"[1] Now one of the adjectives used in the Dadistân for hell is [illegible] which Dr. West translates as 'descending.' The same word occurs in the next sentence, where Dr. West translates it as 'declivity'. In the case of the second word, the late Ervad Tehmuras, in his edition of the Dadistân-i-Dinik, (p. 69), says in a footnote, that in three manuscripts the word is [illegible] I think this word is Persian [illegible] (*kandeh*), 'a hollow.'

(e) The Pahlavi Revayet

In the Pahlavi Revâyet, which precedes the Dâdistân in many manuscripts, there occurs the following passage as given by Dr. West. "They say that hell is the ridge (*pûstô*) of Arekzûr ; and hell is not the ridge of Arekzûr, but that place where the gate of hell exists is a ridge (*grîvakô*) such as the ridge named Arekzûr, and owing to that they assert that it is the ridge (*pûstô*) of Arekzûr."[2]

(f) The Mino-i-kherad

In the Mino-i-kherad, chapter VI, there is a question similar to that of the Vendidâd, which asks "Which land is the unhappier ?' then the reply is "That land is the more afflicted in which hell is formed."[3] Here, indirectly, hell is connected with Arêzûr. We further learn from the Mino-i-kherad, that there was also a demon of the name of Arêzûr. Gayomard killed him and thus saved himself from the clutches of Ahriman.[4] It was on the Khordad Sâl day (Roz sixth of the month of Farvardin) that Gayomard killed him.[5] It appears then, that either the

1 Dr West's translation, S B E ,XVIII, p 75

2 S B E XXIV, Pahlavi Texts, Part III, p 58, n 1. Ervad B. N. Dhabar's Edition of the Pahlavi Revayet 50 p. 162.

3 S B E XXIV, Mino-i-kherad chap. VI 2-4

4 S B EXXIV, Mino-i-kherad, chap XXVII, 14-15. 5 Mâdigân i binâ-i Farvardin Yum-i Khordad. Pahlavi Texts by Dastur Dr Jamaspji p 102. Vide K. R. Cama Memorial Volume p. 122 for Dastur Kaikhosru's Translation

mountain derived its name from the demon, or the demon from the mountain. I think the former was the case.[1]

We thus gather the following facts from the above passages of the Avesta and the Pahlavi books :—

Facts gathered from the Avesta and Pahlavi passages

1. Arêzûra was a mountain belonging to the Elbourz range of the Caucasus.
2. It had a pit or a hollow.
3. That pit or hollow was considered to be the worst place on the surface of the earth.
4. It was a seat of the demons.
5. It was considered to be the gate of hell.

Now, I beg to submit, that this Arêzûra was a volcano, and it was the pit, hollow, or the crater of that volcano that had suggested to the ancient Iranians the picture, or at least a part of the picture, of Hell.

Modern geographers on a volcano in the Elbourz range

The first question in connection with this matter is : Whether there was a living volcano in the range of Mount Elbourz of which Arêzûra was a peak ? Modern geographers say that there was one.

Mount Elbourz forms a part of the whole of the Caucasus range, which contains several volcanoes. Prof. Ansted says of the group : "Many of the high peaks in the Taurus chain, and Mount Elbourz itself, the giant of the Caucasus, are volcanic in their origin ; but they certainly cannot fairly be ranked as among existing volcanoes active in the modern period.[2]

Of Mount Demâvend, a lofty peak of the Elbourz, Dr. Edward Hull says : "Mount Demâvend, in Persia, which rises to an elevation of 18,464 feet near the southern shore of the Caspian Sea, a volcanic mountain of the first magnitude, is now extinct or dormant."[3] Thus we see, that Elbourz (the haraberezaiti of the Avesta) was a volcano. Both Ansted and Hull say that its volcanoes are dormant at present. But they must have been active in the times of the Avesta and Pahlavi writers.

Maçoudi's reference to a volcano in the Elbourz

Maçoudi, who wrote in the early part of the tenth century after Christ, refers to the Caucasus group

1 *Cf* the case of the Roman god Vulcan, the God of Fire. From him was derived the name Vulcano, a volcanic mountain in Italy . Afterwards all burning mountains were called volcanoes.

2 Ansted's Physical Geography (1871), p 330

3 Volcanoes Past and Present, by Edward Hull (1892), p. 24.

as containing living volcanoes. In the 17th chapter of his Moroudj-al-Zahab va Ma'adin el Javahar (مروج الذهب و معادن الجوهر) *i. e.*, "The Meadows of Gold and the Mines of Jewels," he refers to the mountains of the Caucasus. He refers to Baku as the principal place of naphtha, especially of black naphtha. He then proceeds to say: "In the land, occupied by the sources of the naphtha, there is a volcano or a source of fire, the eruptions of which never cease, and which omits at all times jets of flames high in the air."[1] We thus see from Maçoudi that the Caucasus had a living volcano, even up to about 1,000 years ago.

Mount Demavend, still showing symptoms of activity

Mount Demâvend, the highest peak of the Elbourz, still shows some living symptoms of its once active volcanic condition. This appears, from the following statement of Mr. Taylor Thomson in his description of his visit of Mount Demâvend in 1837. He says :

"As to the volcanic nature of the mountain there can be no doubt. The sulphureous cave with its crater-shapd summit, the heated air and steam issuing from its crevices, the hot springs at its base, the scoriæ and pumice found upon its side—all show, that it not only was, in former times, the mouth of an extensive volcanic district, but that its fires are not yet extinguished—again they may be lit up, and its action, whether by earthquake or eruption, may cause most extensive changes on the surface of this part of the country. The volcanic action through the whole of this part of the country has at one time been very great; strata of rocks are contorted and twisted about in all directions. In the neighbourhood of Germah are the hot springs of Germsir, the hottest of which shows a temperature of 148." Fahrenheit. The springs, however, are not confined to this plaee alone; at Ask they are very numerous, both in the village and its neighbourhood, although they are of a temperature much inferior to those of Germsir."

Other Oriental authors on the activity of Mount Demavend

Oriental authors, other than Maçoudi also, refer to the active volcanic condition of Mount Demâvend.[3]

We read the following in the description of an Oriental author, Ali, son of Zeid: "From its base comes out a sulphurous source which ignorant Persians believe to be the urine of Biourasf. . . . They counted seventy crevices

1 I have translated the passage from the French translation of Maçoudi by Barbier de Meynard and Pavet de Courteille, Vol II p 25
2 Journal of the Royal Geographical Society, 1838, Vol VIII, pp 111-112
3 *Vide* Dictionnaire G éographique, historique et littéraire de la Perse, par B. de Meynard, pp 224, 236.

from which escaped a vapour of sulphur. A man of that country, who was among them affirmed that this vapour was the breath of Biourasf."[1]

A poet named Môcer thus describes what he saw of the volcanic activity of the mountain.

"I have examined the ground with care, and I have discovered a source of sulphur, surrounded by petrified sulphur, which burns under the action of solar rays. I have also noticed a cavern in which the winds are engulfed with violence and from which come out strange and discordant voices. One believes to hear in turn the neighing of the horse, the hoarse voice of the ass; and when one hears attentively, it appears that one hears an unknown language of which the intonations are well nigh those of human language, but of which the sense is unintelligible as that of the language of the savage inhabitants of the desert. The smoke, which the ignorant take for the breath of Biourasf, is the vapour which this sulphurous source emits and one must accept the fact that the aspect of all these physical phenomena lend themselves wonderfully to the legends invented by the people. I have noticed here and there in the different windings of the mountains, debris of buildings surrounded by the mausoleums which prove tbat the kings of Persia had formerly their summer residence there. The inhabitants say, that, when the ants collect with greatest care and in great quantities their provisions, it is the sign of a year of want of rain and scarcity. When continuous rain inspire them with fear for their crops, they throw the milk of she-goats over fire[2] and the rain ceases. I have myself made this observation several times and I have had the proof that they say the truth. They add also that when a particular side of a mouutain is without snow[3] it is certain that a misfortune menaces the country situated in that direction. This opinion also is equally true and they speak with one voice on this subject. Round about Donbâwend there are mines of antimony known under the name of *razi*."[4]

The *razi* of Mocer and the Arezura of the Avesta,

Thus we see, both on the authorities of modern geographers and of old writers, that mount Demâvend in the Elbourz range was volcanic.

1 Dictionnaire Géographique...de la Perse, par B. de Meynard. *Vide* the word Donbawend (Demávend), p. 236.
2 This reminds one of a ceremony like that of Hom performed by the Hindus in India on some occasions of great national difficulty
3 This is something like the present observations of the fall of snow on the Himalayas, from which observations about the coming weather are made
4 I give my translation from the " Dictionnaire Géographique de la Perse", par B de Meynard, p 237

I would ask whether the mines round Demâvend, referred to under the name Razi, have not any connection with the name Arezûr ? I think this name *razzi* is a remnant of an old form of Arezûra. Irrespective of that similarity of names or identification we have sufficient data to say that Mount Demâvend was volcanic and that Mount Arezûr, one of its peaks, referred to in the Parsee books as the seat of the gate of hell, was also volcanic

Ardai Viraf's description of Hell pointing to a volcano

Comparing the description of hell as given by Ardai Virâf, one can see easily that it seems to have been taken from what one sees even now on a volcano.

In the Virâf-nâmeh (chapter 18) we have a description of hell, wherein it is referred to as a place of heat and cold, dryness and stench, such as are seen nowhere in the world. It is a place which is deep and stinking. It is like a terrible chasm. The darkness is so great that you may, as it were, handle it. The stench is so great, that those who breathe the air there faint, tremble and fall.

Yaqout's traditional story of Feridun and Zohâk, pointing to a volcano

Now, the traditional story of Feridun and Zohâk, the Biourasf (the Baivarasp of the Pazend writings and of Firdousi) referred to above, helps us to say with greater certainty that Arezûra was a volcano.

Yaquot thus refers to the traditional story of Zohâk and Feridun in his Modjem-el-Bouldan. " Le roi Feridoun, après " s'être emparé de Biourasf, le tyran, l'attacha avec des chaînes d'une grosseur prodigieuse, et l'emprisonna dans les entrailles de cette montagne, où il est encore maintenant. Personne, ajoutent-ils, ne peut en atteindre le sommet ; il s'en exhale une fumée qui s'élêve jusqu' aux nues ' c'est l'haleine de Biourasf ; autour de lui sont des gardiens qui frappent sans cesse l'enclume avec de lourds marteaux."[1]

Mr. Taylor Thomson, in his account of the ascent of Mount Demavend, above referred to, says that he found on the top of the mountain a cave. He calls it a " sulphur cave."[2] Perhaps, it is in this cave that Baêvarasp (Zohâk) was enchained according to tradition.

From all these authors, we gather the following facts: Baêvarasp or Zohâk, tyrant of Persia, was fettered in a cave on Mount Demâvend, a mountain of the

1 Dictionnaire Géographique de la Perse, par B. de Meynard. *Vide* the word Debawend (Demavend), p. 225
2 The Journal of the Royal Geographical Society, Vol VIII (1838), p 110, l. 21

Elbourz range. Mount Arezûra was one of the peaks of this mountain. Old writers and modern travellers have shown that this mountain Demâvend was volcanic. So, Arezûr, a peak of that mountain, was also volcanic. It was in one of the caves of this mountain that Zohâk was possibly fettered. Perhaps it was in the cave known as "Sulphur Cave," as stated by Mr. T. Thomson. Tradition says, that people believed that the sulphurous vapour etc., came out of the mouth of Zohâk. So, we understand, how people connected the volcanic mountain with Zohâk, whom they considered to be a monster or a demon.

Later tradition says, that the chain, with which Zohâk was fettered, used to be thinned by the flow of saliva, day and night, from Zohâk's mouth, but that, early every morning, on the crowing of a cock, it used to get thick again. Perhaps, it is an allusion to the volcanic activity of Mount Arezûr of the Demâvend range on which he was confined. According to modern volcanologists, the activity increases or diminishes according to the different seasons and according to the different parts of the day.

Heaven and Hell both connected with the Elbourz

Thus, we see, that, according to Parsee books, both, the Hell and the Heaven, were on the Elbourz. From the peak Chekât Dâiti, one went both to heaven and hell. Chekât Dâiti is on Mount Elbourz. So, it is from one part of Elbourz that one goes both to heaven and hell. To go to heaven, you have to go higher up; to go to hell, down to the abyss of Arézûr. Compare with this statement, the view of modern travellers. Standing on the summit of Vesuvius, when you turn towards the crater of the volcano, you see and smell and hear, sights, odour and sounds which would at once remind you of the traditional accounts of hell. Turn towards the city of Naples and its beautiful bay, and you at once realize the truth of the Neapolitan saying which says, " Vedi Napoli e poi mori," *i. e.*, "See Naples and then die," and find that the view is charming and heaven-like. This was my experience when I visited Vesuvius on 28th July 1889.

We have the analogy of another mountain in Italy which shows that a volcano was taken to be hell the seat of the Devil. Val Deavoli is the name of that part of Sicily where Mount Etna is situated. Among the ancient Greeks and Romans and also among the early Christians, a volcanic mountain was usually connected with hell.

MAZDAK, THE IRANIAN SOCIALIST.

I

INTRODUCTION.

Socialism is one of the most important questions of the day in almost all the states of Europe. As a recent writer[1] on Socialism says, "There are good and true elements in socialism...There are also bad and false elements in socialism." Socialism or communism has been tried on some practical basis several times. To students of Political Economy, the systems of St. Simon and of Fourier are well known.[2] But the trials of these systems have failed.

The word "Socialism" is said to be not more than 80 years old. But some of its tenets—its "bad and false elements"—are very old. The object of this paper is to give the version of Firdousi and of other oriental writers, on the tenets of Mazdak, an Iranian socialist, who lived in the early part of the sixth century after Christ.

As said by Gibbon, the people of Iran were "deluded and inflamed by the fanaticism" of this socialist, "who asserted the community of women, and the equality of mankind, whilst he appropriated the richest lands and most beautiful females to the use of his sectaries".[3]

Rawlinson, referring to his communistic views, calls him a "Magian reformer," and says that he "presented the spectacle of an enthusiast who preached a doctrine of laxity and self-indulgence, not from any base or selfish motive, but simply from a convictiou of its truth,"[4] and asks us to compare his case with that of "Eudoxus,[5] the predecessor of Epicurus, as reported by Aristotle".[6] At least, as far as his views about marriage are concerned, from what we read of him in the oriental authors, we are not disposed to exempt him from bad motives. Gibbon's views, as given above, seem to portray him in his true colours. Malcolm estimates him in his proper

1 "Socialism" by Robert Flint
2 Fawcett's "Manual of Political Economy" (1869) pp 102-104
3 Gibbon's "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire" (1844), Vol III, p. 116
4 Rawlinson's "Seventh Great Monarchy" (1876), p. 343
5 *Ibid*, note 3 6 *Ibid*, note 3

character, when he calls him a "a religious imposter".[1]

II

REFERENCES TO MAZDAK IN THE PAHLAVI BOOKS.

Before describing the tenets of Mazdak, as given by Firdousi and other Mahomedan authors, we shall give here, in brief, the references to him in the Pahlavi books.

1 The Pahlavi Vendidad.

The oldest Pahlavi writing, wherein Mazdak is referred to, is the Pahlavi Vendidâd.[3] In the fourth chapter of the Vendidâd,[3] it is enjoined that a poor Zoroastrian, who seeks knowledge (*i. e.* wants education), or who seeks a wife (*i. e.*, wishes to marry), or who wants some material or monetary assistance, may be helped. Then follows instructions about the best time for seeking knowledge, *i.e.*, for study.[4] Then follows a passage which advises that the deserving poor may be helped with things wanted by them.[5] Lastly comes the passage which recommends a married life.[6] Therein, it is said, that a married person is better able than one who is unmarried,[7] to withstand difficulties and afflictions and to fight against evil-minded persons. In the list of such evil-minded persons, is mentioned the class of the impious starving heretics (*ashêmaoghem anâshavanem anguharestâtem*). As an instance of such an "impious starving heretic", the Pahlavi translator and commentator gives the name of Mazdak. It gives the following words as a comment :—*Chêgûn Mazdak-î-Bâmdâdân mûnash nafshman sir vashtmûnt aêshân pavan sûg va mary dâd*",[9] *i. e.*, "like Mazdak (son) of Bamdad, who, while he himself ate to satiety, gave up others to hunger and death". This is an allusion to his imposture, that, by his new creed, he pretended to be an unselfish person, but, in the end, he made himself rich at the cost of others. We shall see later on, on the authority of some historians, that such was really thought to be the case.

1 Malcolm's "History of Persia" (1829), Vol I, p 104
2 Fargard IV, 49 3 *Ibid*, 44 4 *Ibid*, 45
5 *Ibid*, 46 6 *Ibid.*, 47-49
7 *Cf* "To tell the truth, however, family and property have done more to support me than I have to support them. They have compelled me to make exertions that I hardly thought myself capable of; and often, when on the eve of despairing, they have forced me, like a coward in a corner, to fight like a hero, not for myself, but for my wife and little ones"—Tyronne Power 8 Vend. IV, 49.
9 Pahl. Vend. Dastur Darab Peshotan's text, p 64, notes 4 and 5 Dastur Hoshang's Pahl. Vendidad, p 135, l. l. *Vide* Darmesteter's "Zend-Avesta," Vol II, p 62, note 39

2 The Bahman Yasht : a Dream of Zoroaster

The Pahlavi Bahman Yasht speaks of a dream of Zoroaster, wherein he saw a tree which had four branches, one mixed up (*i. e.* made up) of gold, one of silver, one of steel, and one of iron.[1] The dream, when interpreted, indicated that the tree was the great millenium after the revelation of the religion by Zoroaster, and that the four branches were the four important epochs of that millenium, when four great personages appeared and important events happened. The third branch of the tree, *viz.*, that of steel, (polâvtin, Pers. polâd), indicated the reign of the immortal-souled (*anoshakrubân*) Khûsrô, son of Kavâd (Kobâd[2] A. D. 531-578), who suppressed the heresy of Mazdak. The Bahman Yasht says : "During this time, the accursed Mazdik, son of Bâmdâd, who is opposed to the religion, comes into notice, and is to cause disturbance among those in the religion of God. And he, the glorified one, summoned Khûsrô, son of Mâhdâd and Dâd-Auharmazd of Nishâpûr, who were high-priests of Atarô-pâtakân, and Atarô-frôbâg the undeceitful (*akadbâ*), Atarô-pâd, Atarô-Mitrô, and Bakht-âfaîd to his presence..."[3] According to the Persian version of this subject, "Khûsrô sent a message to the accursed Mazdak, requiring him to reply to the questions of this priestly assembly on pain of death, to which he assented, and he was asked ten religious questions, but was unable to answer one; so, the king put him to death immediately".[4] As we shall see later on, Firdousi refers to this priestly assembly mentioned in the Bahman Yasht.

That Khûsrô (Noshirwân) held such priestly assemblies for various purposes, appears from the Epistles[5] of Mânuscheher.[6] Nishâpûhar, who is often referred to in the Pahlavi Vendidâd and the Nirangistân as a commentator, was a prominent member of these priestly assemblies of the glorious king of kings, Noshirwân, the son of Kobad.[7] As Dr. West[8] says, it is possible that the above-mentioned priest Dâd-Auharmazd of Nishâpur, referred to in the Bahman Yasht as taking part in the priestly assemblies to discuss questions with Mazdak, is the priest Nishâpur of the court of Noshirwân referred to in the Epistles.

1 Chap I. 1. S. B. E., Vol. V., p 192 Darakhti, chehar azg patash yehvunt, ayôk zahabayin, ayôk asminin, ayok polâvtin, ayok asin madam gomikhtê yekvimunât (Dastur Kekobad's Zend-i Vohuman Yasht. Text p. 1.)
2 Ibid. Chap I, 5, S. B. E. Vol 5, "Zak-i polâvtin, khudaih i Anoshah-robân Khosru-i Kavadan" (Dastur Kekobad Adarbad's Zend-i Vohuman Yasht Text p, 2, l. 7.)
3 *Ibid*, Chap I, 6-7 West, S. B. E. Vol V , p. 194 4 West, S. B. E. Vol V, p 194, note 2.
5 Epistle 1., Chap. IV.. 15-17 ; S. B. E., Vol. XVIII., p. 297.
6 Various references to these priestly assemblies in the Epistles of Mânuscheher and elsewhere, throw a side-light on the Ecclesiastical hierarchy of ancient Iran, after more than two centuries of ceaseless struggle with the ever-advancing flood of Muhammadanism which was destined to submerge them" They say that (a) the high-priests of principal centres, like Pars and Kirman, had a council to advise them on principal ecclesiastical questions, (b) These high-priests even maintained a number of troops. (c) When the head priests became very old, their affairs were looked after by a committee of four learned priests (*Vide* S. B. E., Vol. XVIII., Introduction, p. XXVII).
7 "Anjuman-i anosheh-roban Khusro i Malakân Shâh-i Kavâdân." Epistle I., Chap. IV.,15. Ervad B. N. Dhabhar's "Nâmakibâ-i Manuschihar," p. 24. *Vide* S. B. E., Vol. XVIII., p. 297, notes 1 and 2. 8 *Ibid.*

Another Dream of Zoroaster.

The Bahman Yasht speaks of another dream of the prophet, wherein he saw a tree with seven branches.[1] In the interpretation of the dream, it is said of the sixth branch, which is that of steel, that it "is the reign of King Khûsrô, son of Kavâd, when he keeps away from this religion the accursed Mazdîk, son of Bâmdâd, who remains opposed to the religion along with the heterodox".[2]

The Dream of Zoroaster, as given in the Persian Zarthost-nameh.

The Persian Zarthosht-nâmeh, written by Zarthusht Behrâm in 647 Yazdagardi (A.D. 1278), also gives the second dream[3] of Zoroaster as referred to by the Bahman Yasht. It says that the sixth branch *viz.*, that of steel, refers to the time of Noshirwân in whose reign the evil-minded Mazdak appeared but failed.

The Dream of Zoroaster and the Dream of Daniel.

The dreams of Zoroaster have been pointed out as resembling the vision of Daniel,[4] who saw that "the four winds of the heaven strove upon the great sea and four great beasts came up from the sea ".[5] One of the beasts which Daniel saw had " great iron teeth".[6] The four beasts of the Vision of Daniel were, like the four branches of the dream of Zoroaster, interpreted to mean " four kings which shall arise out of the earth ".[7]

3 The Dinkard.

The Dinkard[8] refers to Noshirwân, as one, smiting apostasy. This apostasy is that of Mazdak. According to Dr. West, the reference in the Dinkard[9] to the arrival of the fiend and his evils in the ninth century after " the coming of the religion " seems to be an allusion to the creed of Mazdak. Similarly, the reference[10] to " some great triumph of the priesthood over some heresy," may be an allusion to the triumph of Noshirwân and his party of priests over Mazdak and his followers. Again, when the Dinkard[11] refers to an " organisation of the religion by the glorified Khûsrôi, son of Kâvâd," the allusion is to the assembly of priests summoned by him as referred to in the Pahlavi Bahman Yasht, and described by Firdousi.

1 The Bahman Yasht, Chap II, 14.
2 *Ibid*, 21 . S. B. E. Vol V. West. p. 201. Zak-i pulântin khudâih-i Khusro-i Kavâtân Shâh amat gazasteh Mazdak-i Bamdâdân din patyâr levatman javit rastakân yekimunet (Dastur Kekobad's Zand-i Vohuman Yasht p 5, l. 8).
3 "Le Livre de Zoroastre (Zarâtusht Nâma) de Zartusht-i-Bahrâm Ben Pajdû " publié et traduit par Frédéric Rosenberg. *Vide* for the Persian text pp 68—69 ; for the French translation, pp 67—68,
4 Daniel, chap VII 5 *Ibid*, Chap. VII ,2—3 6 *Ibid*, 7 7 Ibid, 17
8 Dinkard Bk IV, 28 ; S B E, Vol XXXVII, p 415.
9 Bk IX, Chap XXXII, 17 ; S B E, Vol XXXVII p 257, note 4
10 Dinkard, Bk IX, Chap, LIII 3 S. B. E, Vol XXXVII p. 328 note 3.
11 Bk. VII. Chap , VII 26 ; S. B. E. Vol XLVII, p. 89, note 2.

From the fact of the heretical teachings of Mazdak, apostasy in general has latterly come to be known at times as Mazdakih.[1]

III
FIRDOUSI'S VERSION.

Firdousi speaks of Mazdak as an eloquent, wise, thinking and ambitious person. He had endeared himself to king Kobâd and had become his Dastur or minister, and his treasurer.

A Famine, the occasion that gave rise to Mazdak's socialism

It was a famine that led him to, or gave him an opportunity to give expression to, socialistic views. A great famine spread over Irân and the poor populace collected at the palace of the king to ask for relief. Mazdak, who was the king's minister, went to the king and put to him the following question :—

" Suppose a person is bitten by a snake and is on the point of losing his life, and suppose that another person has an antidote for snake-poison but he does not give it to the snake-bitten man ; then what punishment does the person, who refuses to give the antidote, deserve ? " King Kobâd replied: " The man who possesses the antidote is a murderer (*khûni*). He must be killed for bringing about the death of the snake-bitten person."

Mazdak then went to the people who had assembled at the gate of the palace and said to them, that he had cousulted the king, and that he would show them the way of relief the next morning. The people assembled again the next morning. On seeing them, Mazdak ran to the court of the king again, and said : " Suppose there is a person who is imprisoned and, not being given any food, dies ; then what punishment is due to the person who possesses bread but does not give it to the person imprisoned ? " The king said, " He is a murderer of that poor man to whom he has refused food."

Having heard this, Mazdak took the two replies of the king, as justifying what he was going to do to relieve the distress of the famine-stricken people. He went to the people and said, " Go, and wherever you see grain, take a part of it for yourselves. If they ask for money, plunder them." Thus, he advised ravage and plunder to the poor famished people. He gave away his granary also to be plundered. They plundered also the king's granary. When news of thie state of affairs was

1 *Vide* Dinkard Bk. VII Chap. VII, 21; S. B. E, Vol. XLVII p. 88—Cf. Machiavelism from Machiavel and Pers *Karsivazi* کرسیوزی from Karsivaz, the wicked brother of Afrâsiâb.

brought to king Kobâd, he sent for Mazdak and asked for an explanation. He said, that he relied upon the answers given by the king in reply to his question. The grain was to the famine-stricken people what the antidote was to the snake-bitten man. He added, " Oh king ! If you are just, think well, that the grain in the granaries (of the rich) is of no use if people die of hunger."

Mazdak's argument.

The argument of Mazdak seemed plausible to the king and he began to think over the matter. In the meantime, a large crowd assembled round Mazdak who propounded to them his socialistic ideas. He said : " The rich and the poor are equal. No one should possess more than he wants ; it is unlawful (*harâm*) for him to have it. Women, property and other things must be equally divided. The poor and the rich are equal. I want to put these inequalities in proper order, so that purity (*i.e.*, justice) may appear and noble things may be distinguished from base ones. He who does not become one of this faith (*i.e.* this new socialistic teaching) would, like a demon, be cursed by God."

Firdousi then proceeds to say that Mazdak " treated all the poor, whether old or young, as one. He took away things from one person and gave them to another. The Mobads were depressed at this sight. When Kobâd heard his teachings, he adopted them and he was pleased with his words. The king made him sit on his right hand, and the army did not know where the Mobad (*i.e.*, the usual adviser of the king) was. All the poor who gained their bread by their toil went to him. His teachings flourished in the world and nobody dared to oppose him. The rich turned away from the path of virtue. They had to give away to the poor what they had."

Mazdak and prince Noshirwan

The Mazdakians, *i.e.*, the followers of his teachings, soon numbered about 30,000. Once, a large meeting of these followers was held on an open *maidân*, as the king's palace was not large enough to contain them. The king himself was present at the meeting. Mazdak then represented to the king, that, as his prince Kesra (Chosroes, *i.e.*, Noshirwan) had not as yet joined his new faith, he ought to be asked to pass a writing adopting the faith. He added, that there were five evils which led men away from the path of righteousness. They were (1) jealousy, (2) anger, (3) revenge, (4) penury, and (5) *divs* (demons) ; and a man would follow the path of God, if he would keep away from

these. Wealth and women were the causes that generate these five evils. So these two, *viz.*, wealth and women, should be common property. Having said this, Mazdak caught hold of the hand of Noshirwan, who was at the meeting, with a view to ask him to accept his new teachings. Noshirwân indignantly freed his hand from the grasp of Mazdak. Kobâd asked his son, why he did not accept this new faith. Noshirwan said in reply, that if the king would give him time, he would prove the falsity of Mazdak's teachings. Mazdak asked, what period of time he (Noshirwan) wanted to be prepared to discuss the question. Noshirwan asked for a period of five months and he was given that time.

Noshirwan's conference with the learned of the country.

Noshirwân then sent messages to different parts of Persia to call together learned persons who could thoroughly examine the *pros* and *cons* of the question. Among those that came [1], there was one Hormazd[2] from the city of Kurreh-i-Ardashir, and one Meher Azar[3] from the city of Istakhar. The latter had brought with him 30 other *savants*. They all consulted together and resolved upon a plan to meet the arguments of Mazdak. Noshirwân then went to the court of his father and said that a day may be appointed to meet Mazdak. He proposed that, if Mazdak succeeded in proving the validity of his faith, he (Noshirwân) would accept his creed. If otherwise, Mazdak and his associates may be given up to Noshirwân to be punished for their false creed. Razmeher, Kharrad, Farrâhin, Bendui, and Behezâd stood as witnesses to this stipulation.

A conference of both the parties.

They all met the next day at the court of the king to discuss the question of Mazdak's teachings. One of the Mobads, who accompanied Noshirwân, opened the debate by putting the following questions to Mazdak :

1. "You say that wealth and women must be common property for all. Then, in the case of women, how could it be possible for a father to say, that such and such person is his son, and for a son to say, that such and such person is his father ?

2. Again, in the case of wealth, if all—the great and the small—are equal, who will be the servants and who masters ? Who will serve you and who will serve me ?

1 These are the priestly assemblies referred to in the Pahlavi books. *Vide* above.
2 He seems to be the Dad Auhar Mazda of the Bahman Yasht : Vide above p. 114.
3 He seems to be the Ataro-Mitro of the Bahman Yasht. Vide above p. 114. When the two parts of the compound word are inverted, the name becomes Mitro-Atar, from which comes Meher Azar.

3. Again, when a man dies, who will inherit his property, the king or the citizen, both being in your eyes equal?

4. If all would be masters, who would be the labourers? If all were to possess wealth, who would be the wealthy persons (lit treasurers) ?"

The Mobad then added, that such a state of affairs would devastate the whole of Irân. No religion in the world had ever pronounced such a doctrine of equality.

King Kobâd withdraws from Mazdak's heresy

The line of argument, advanced by the party of Noshirwân, was not successfully met by Mazdak and his party. Firdousi says, King Kobâd approved of the line of arguments advanced by Noshirwân's party, and, in the end, was convinced that Mazdak's creed was in the wrong and likely to bring ruin to Irân. So, he gave up Mazdak and his 30,000 accomplices into the hands of Noshirwân, who thereupon put Mazdak to death. Firdousi further adds, on the authority of a learned man, that Mazdak, having won the heart of the king by his seemingly plausible arguments, had at one time, tried to put his creed into practice, and on the plea, that women and wealth were common property for all, had asked the king to entrust to him his daughter and his throne. This exasperated the king and he turned away from the creed of Mazdak.

Thus, we learn from the above-mentioned version of Firdousi, that it was Noshirwân, who saved Irân from the evils of the false elements of Mazdak's socialism. As said by Gibbon, "It was the first labour of his reign to abolish the dangerous theory of common or equal possessions : the lands and women which the sectaries of Mazdak had usurped, were restored to their lawful owners ; and the temperate chastisement of the fanatics or impostors confirmed the domestic rights of society".[1] It was for this, among other services, that Noshirwân's name has been commemorated with the names of other departed worthies of Irân, in the Âfrin-i-Rajpithwin. [2]

IV.

OTHER MAHOMEDAN AUTHORS.

We shall supplement our version from Firdousi with that from some other known Mahomedan authors like Maçoudi, Tabari and Mirkhond.

1 Gibbon's "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire" (1844) Vol III, pp 117-118
2 Hamâ-zor Frohar-i Anaosheh-rawân-i Khusro-i Kavâdân bad (Pazend Texts. by Mr. Edalji K. Antia, p. 102.

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Maçoudi

Maçoudi's references to Mazdak are brief. He calls him a Zendîk.[1] He says that Mazdak had close relations for a long time with Kobâd, that he seduced the people by his innovation and frauds and that he perished in the reign of Noshirwân. He had also formulated a revolt against Kobâd. The result was that Kobâd was dethroned. He regained his throne after some time. On coming to the throne, Noshirwân killed Mazdak and 80,000 of his followers.

Tabari.

Tabari gives a separate chapter[2] on the teachings of Mazdak. According to this author, Mazdak belonged to Nishâpur in Khorâsân. He pretended to be a prophet, but he was really not so. He taught the old religion of Persia, with this exception, that he abolished marriage and ownership in property, saying that " the God of the Universe has given these (women and wealth) equally to all men."[3] For community of women, he said: " All women are common. The wife of one person belongs to another and the wife of that other belongs to the first. Whoever desires her may take her." This doctrine pleased most young men, the debauched and the common people, and many adopted it. Kobâd, in the twelfth year of whose reign Mazdak declared this new creed, sent for him and inquired about it. Kobâd was licentious and fond of women. So, he was inclined to the teachings of Mazdak who attached no importance to the sacred tie of marriage. The people, with the help of the chief Dastur, dethroned and imprisoned him and put his brother Jâmâsp on the throne. One of Kobâd's sisters went to his prison and wrapped him in beddings and blankets, and passed the bundle out of the prison, under the pretence that it belonged to her. She said to the jailor, who wanted to seduce her, that she was in her monthly illness, and that, as, according to the Persian custom,[4] people did not come into contact with the body and clothings of women during such illness, Kobâd had directed her beddings and clothing to be removed. Kobâd, who was concealed in the bundle of the beddings, after being thus released from his imprisonment, fled from Persia. He then returned after some time

1 الزندیق I do not understand, why M Barbier de Meynard (Maçoudi, par Barbier de Meynard Vol II, p 195) translates here the word as Manichéen. Though there may be some traits common to the Zendiks and to the Manichéens, yet the sects seem to be, to a great extent, different.

2 Part II, Chap XXIX—Tabari par Zotenberg, Tome II pp. 148-52.

3 همه جهان با یکدیگر بخواستن و زنان راست با شه (Munshi Nawal Kishore's Text p. 313 ll. 2-3.

4 Vide Vendidâd XVI for the old Persian custom referring to women in their menses.

with foreign assistance and regained his throne. He then renounced the company and the teachings of Mazdak, who, later on, was killed by Noshirwan.

Mirkhond

Mirkhond, in his Rozatus-safa, says that Mazdak won over king Kobâd to his new creed by a stratagem. He pretended, that his new faith was revealed to him by God, and imposed upon the king by showing him a so-called miracle. He got a subterranean communication to be made with the vault of a fire-temple, and hid an accomplice under the ground below the vase of the Sacred Fire. Then, he took the king with him to the fire-temple and offered to converse with the Sacred Fire. The man, who was hid in the ground under the fire-vase, talked with him freely. The King took this to be a miracle and was converted to the new creed.[1]

According to Mirkhond, the following were the teachings of Mazdak:—

1. Wealth and women were common property. [2]
2. Intercourse with the next of kin (*lit.* those prohibited) was good. [3]
3. The slaughter of animals and eating their flesh was unlawful. [4] He permitted the use of eggs as food, while prohibiting meat diet.
4. The putting on of coarse cloth and living a kind of austere life.

The result of these teachings was, according to Mirkhond, this: "He drew to his faith the lowest classes of people. They committed rape on women of the highest classes. Children could not say who their fathers were and nobody was certain about the possession of his property." Mazdak, says Mirkhond, had, at one time, the audacity to demand from his royal disciple, king Kobâd, his queen.[5] The King was prepared to grant the demand, but Noshirwân saved the honour of his royal mother by requesting Mazdak with great importunities to withdraw his demand. The ministers of the king were so much displeased with Kobad's conduct that they dethroned and imprisoned him and placed his brother Jâmâsp on the throne. Kobâd, being

1 Munshi Nawal Kishore's Text, Vol I p 232. Silvestre de Sacy's Mémoire sur divers Antiquitées de la Perse, pp 354-356

2 اموال و فروج خلائق را بر یکدیگر مباح گردانید
(Munshi Nawal Kishore's text, Vol I, p 232, l. 22)

3 جمع شدن با محارم از مستحسنات شمرد (*Ibid.*)

4 ذبح حیوانات واکل لحوم و دموم آنهارا برخلق حرام ساخت. (*Ibid*).

5 Gibbon, on the authority of Pocock who refers to an Arab historian for his authority, says, that Kobâd himself offered his queen and sister to Mazdak (Gibbon III, p. 116 n. 4, Chap XLII)

released from his prison by a stratagem of one of his sisters, regained his throne after some time with foreign assistance, and had, by that time, given up his liking for the teachings of Mazdak. Nceshirwân, on coming to the throne, killed Mazdak. Mirkhond says, that various different accounts of Mazdak and his party were known during the time.

Albiruni.

Albiruni includes Mazdak in the list of his pseudo-prophets. He attributes bad motives to both Mazdak and Kobâd—to Mazdak for introducing his new creed, and to Kobad, for encouraging and adopting it. He says :

" Kobâdh, too, believed in him. But some of the Persians maintain that his adhesion was a compulsory one, since his reign was not safe against the mass of the followers of Mazhdak. According to others, again, this Mazhdak was a cunning sort of man, who managed to concoct this system, and to come forward with it simply because he knew that Kobâdh was charmed by a woman who was the wife of his cousin ; and that for this reason Kobâdh hastened to adopt it. Mazhdak ordered him to abstain from sacrificing cattle before the natural term of their life had come. Kobâd said : ' Your enterprise shall not succeed until you make me master of the mother of Anûshirwân, that I may enjoy her.' Mazhdak did as he wished, and ordered her to be handed over."[1]

According to Albiruni, there was another pseudo-prophet named Almukanna, who declared himself as an incarnation of God, and made obligatory " all the laws and institutes which Mazhdak had established."[2] This was about 200 years after Mazhdak.

The Dabistan

The Dabistân has a special section (section 16)[3] treating of the teachings of Mazdak. According to this work Mazdak had written a special book on his new creed. It was known as Desnad. The author of the Dabistân quotes a number of passages from this book. His version of the tenets of Mazdakism gives a good deal more than what we read in Firdousi, Maçoudi, Tabari, Mirkhond and Albiruni. The addition contains some elements which are common to Zoroastrianism, for example, the subject of the so-called dualism.

1 Albiruni's " Chronology of Ancient Nations," translated by Dr. Sachau, p 192. 2 Ibid p. 194.

3 " The Dabistan, or School of Manners," translated by David Shea and Anthony Troyer (1843), Vol. I, pp 372-379

As to the special tenets of Mazdak, the Dabistân represents Mazdak, as justifying them on two grounds. The first is that of justice, referred to by Firdousi. The second is that of the removal of a fertile cause of quarrels prevalent in the world. Wealth and women are two sources that are a frequent cause of dissensions in this world. If both of these were possessed equally by men, it was alleged, there would be no cause of quarrel. We shall give here, in the words of the author of the Dabistân, the tenets, and the grounds on which they were supposed to have been based:

" It is also stated in the same volume (Desnad): ' Whatever is not according with the light and agrees with darkness, becomes wrath, destruction, and discord. And whereas almost all contentions among mankind have been caused by riches and women, it is therefore necessary to emancipate the female sex and have wealth in common: he, therefore, made all men partners in riches and women; just as they are of fire, water and grass.' In the same volume we find : ' It is a great injustice that one man's wife should be altogether beautiful, whilst another's is quite the contrary; it therefore becomes imperative, on the score of justice and true religion, for a good man to resign his lovely wife for a short time to his neighbour, who has one both evil and ugly ; and also take to himself for a short time his neighbour's deformed consort.

" Mazdak has also said : It is altogether reprehensible and improper that one man should hold a distinguished rank, and another remain poor and destitute of resources : it is therefore incumbent on the believer to divide his wealth with his co-religionist ; and so taught the religion of Zardusht, that he should even send his wife to visit him, that he may not be deprived of female society. But if his co-religionist should prove unable to acquire wealth, or show proofs of extravagance, infatuation, or insanity, he is to be confined to the house, and measures adopted to provide him with food, clothing, and all things requisite ; whoever assents not to these arrangements is consequently a follower of Ahriman's, and they get contributions from him by compulsion."[1]

From what follows in the Dabistân, it appears, that Mazdak's tenets were preserved and followed long after him, and they prevailed in later Mahomedan times, even up to the time when the Dabistân was written.

1 Ibid pp 377-78.

Dabistan's authority of Zardusht

According to the above-quoted passage of the Dabistân, Mazdak, while preaching his tenets of wealth and women being common property, pretended to take "the religion of Zardusht" for his authority. It is like our modern saying of "the Devil quoting the Scripture." We do not know, on what authority. the Dabistân bases its statement, when it makes Mazdak say "So taught the religion of Zardusht". But, if the statement is correct, and if Mazdak rested—however wrongly—on the authority of the teachings of Zoroaster, let us see what that writing was. I think, it is the passage of the Vendidâd above referred to (IV, 44). The passage speaks of a *hâmo-daêna* (co-religionist) going to another co-religionist, and asking for help. According to the Dabistân, [1] Mazdak also speaks of a *ham-din* هم‌دین, *i. e.*, a co-religionist, sharing his wealth and wife with another *ham-din*. Again, in the Pahlavi commentary of a passage[2] (Vend. IV, 49) which follows, and the subject of which arises from, this passage, Mazdak is referred to by name. So, I think that, if, as mentioned by the Dabistân, Mazdak pointed to any passage in the Avesta, it was this passage of the Vendidâd. He misrepresented the passage, and twisted its sense to serve his purpose. The Vendidâd recommended Zoroastrians to help their poor co-religionists, who asked for money and who desired to marry and to be educated. Mazdak twisted the meaning and said, that it meant that they were to share their wealth and women with other co-religionists.

V.

THE SOURCE OF MAZDAKISM.

Mazdak's teachings have been run down by Parsee books, as being foreign to Zoroastrianism. The question may be asked: Where did they come from. Did they arise in Irân itself, from the fertile but mischievous mind of Mazdak himself, or were they imported into Irân from a foreign country? They seem to have come to Irân from a foreign country.

The Chinese Mencius and the the Iranain Mazdak.

Mr. Simcox, in his "Primitive Civilizations"[3], thinks, that, in his teachings, Mazdak was a disciple of **Mencius**,[4]

1 Bombay Lithographed edition of 1262 Hijri, p. 114, l. 2. 2 *Vide* above p. 113.

3 "Primitive Civilizations or Outlines of the History of Ownership in Archaic Communities," by E. J. Simcox (1894), Vol. II., pp. 128-129.

4 Mencius is the Latinised form of Mang-tsze. He is said to have lived from 371 to 289 B C. (Encyclopædia Britannica, Vol. XVI, p. 3.)

a Chinese sage. At the end of the fifth and at the commencement of the sixth centuries, several embassies had been sent to China from Persia. In 461 and 466 A. D., two embassies were sent. In 509 A.D., Kobâd had sent another embassy to China. Mr. Simcox thinks, that this frequent intercourse between China and Persia had brought about the introduction of the teachings of Mencius from China into Persia.

We have seen above, in Firdousi's version of Mazdak's teaching, that he won king Kobâd to his socialistic view by some ingenious *questions*. The method of the Chinese moralist Mencius also was in the form of *questions*, or, in what Simcox calls, "the form of Socratic interrogation".[1] He is described as having the following conversation[2] with king Hway of Seang :—

Mencius.—"Is there any difference between killing a man with a stick and with a sword ?"

King Hway.—"There is no difference."

Mencius.—"Is there any difference between killing a man with a sword and with bad government ?"

King Hway.—"There is no difference."

Mencius.—"In your kitchen there is fat meat ; in your stable there are fat horses. Your people have the look of hunger, and on the wilds there are those who have died of famine. Your dogs and swine eat the food of men, and you do not know to make any restrictive arrangements.[3] There are people dying from famine on the roads, and you do not know to issue the stores of your granaries for them.

1 Simcox : "Primitive Civilizations" Vol. II., p. 33. 2 *Ibid.*

3 The restrictive arrangements referred to in the Chinese "Book of Rites" are thus described by Mr. Simcox : "The Book of Rites contains some striking provisions expressly designed to prevent the State charges from becoming an oppressive burden on the cultivators. The amount of rice consumed per head of the population was estimated at about 1½ lbs. per diem in an average year. With a beautiful harvest it might rise to 2 lbs., and in a bad year it might fall to 1 lb ; but it was the duty of the officers in charge of the public granaries to watch the harvests and the state of the public stores, and when the lower limit of consumption was reached, to import grain from adjoining provinces, to remove the people to more productive regions, and to warn the sovereign to reduce the expenses of the State. In times of famine, the king had no great feasts, and all other optional items of expenditure were curtailed... .The general rate of expenditure ought, it was held, to be determined upon the average revenue for thirty years,—a period long enough to allow good and bad years to balance each other. A thriving State was one in which a surplus had been accumulated sufficient to provide for a series of six bad years; a State that had not a surplus sufficient for three years was doomed to prompt extinction." (*Ibid*, p. 35.)

When people die, you say, ' It is not owing to me ; it is owing to the year.' In what does this differ from stabbing a man and killing him, and then saying, ' It was not I, it was the weapon' ?"

We thus see, that there is a good deal of similarity between the form and the substance of Mazdak's interrogatories to the Irânian king Kobâd, and Mencius's interrogatories to the Chinese king Hway; and it appears probable that Mazdak took his teaching from the Chinese Mencius. Simcox says that " Chinese radicalism, it seems, lost some of its sweet reasonableness and temperance in the course of transmission, and the communistic element in Mazdak's doctrine is a purely Persian addition."[1]

Mazdak's so-called asceticism and Indian Buddhism.

According to Mirkhond, Mazdak also prohibited the use of meat as food, and, by his example of putting on coarse cloth and by his retired devotion, recommended, as it were, an ascetic life. The Parsee books and Firdousi do not refer to this part of his teachings. It is Mirkhond alone who refers to it. According to Alberuni[2], there was no complete prohibition. The prohibition was against the slaughter of animals, but when the animals died of natural death, their flesh was, though that is not said in so many words, permitted to be eaten. These teachings also may have come from China, where they had spread with the Buddhistic faith from India, or, possibly, they were imported direct from the Buddhism of India. We know, that Buddhism had gone to the very borders, nay, in some cases, had even crossed the frontiers, of Irân.

1 Ibid. p. 129. 2 Albiruni's Chronology of Ancient Nations, translated by Dr. Saehau (1879), p. 192.

HUṆAS IN AVESTA AND PAHLAVI.[1]

The writer of the article on the Huns in the Encyclopædia Brittanica[2] says that the authentic history of the Huns in Europe practically begins about the year A.D. 372, when Balamir or Balambir led a westward movement from their settlements in the steppes on the north of the Caspian Sea. A side issue of this movement was the downfall of the Gupta dynasty in India, regarding which Mr. Vincent Smith[3] in his History of India says :—

> The Golden Age of the Guptas comprised a period of a century and a quarter (A.D. 330-455), covered by three reigns of exceptional length. The death of Kumāragupta I, which can be fixed definitely as having occurred early in 455, marks the beginning of the decline and fall of the empire..... When Skandagupta (455-480 A.D.) came to the throne, in the spring of 455, he encountered a sea of troubles. The Pusyamitra danger had been averted, but one more formidable closely followed it —an irruption of the savage Huns, who had poured down from the steppes of Central Asia through the north-western passes, and carried devastation over the smiling plains and crowded cities of India. Skandagupta, who probably was a man of mature years and ripe experience, proved equal to the need, and inflicted upon the barbarians a defeat so decisive that India was saved for a time.

The Bhitari[4] stone pillar inscription of Skandagupta takes a note of this victory over the Huns.[5]

Then there were fresh inroads between A.D. 465 and 470. Skandagupta was succeeded on the throne by his son Puragupta (480-485), who was succeeded by his son Narsimhagupta Bāliditya. In or about 484, there were other stronger and further inroads of the Huns under their king Toramāna, who had established himself in Mālwā (500 to 510). This Toramāna was succeeded by Mihiragula or Mihirkula.

The abovementioned Bāliditya was the king of Magadha at this time and Yaśodharman (Vikramāditya) was the ruler of Mālwā in Central India. Round the names of these two kings, there rages a conflict of opinions among scholars, as to which of these two Rājas defeated Mihirkula and put an end

1 In this paper, reprinted from the Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume, I have preserved the transliteration of that volume.
2 Ninth Ed., Vol. XII, p. 381.
3 Third Edition (1914), pp. 308 ff.
4 A village in the Sayyidpur Tahsil of the Ghazipur District in the N. W. Provinces.
5 Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, Vol. III. Inscriptions of the Early Gupta Kings and their Successors, by John Faithful Fleet (1888), Inscription No. 13, Plate VII, pp 52-56.

to the Hūna supremacy in India. Dr. Rudolf Hoernle[1] says it was Yaśodharman. He rests for his authority on epigraphical, numismatic, and literary evidence, of which the first is the most important. The inscriptions of Yaśodharman on his two *rana-stambhas* or "Columns of Victory in War," commemorate this victory.[2] The second column, which is much mutilated, is, as it were, a duplicate. Mr. Vincent Smith,[3] on the other hand, advocates that it was Bālāditya who defeated the Hūna king. He rests for his authority on the statement of the Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsang[4] who represents Bālāditya as defeating Mihirkula.

This question has been also indirectly touched by Professor K. B. Pathak[5] and Babu Manmohan Chakravarti.[6] In the solution of this question, the Persian history of the Sassanian times has also been appealed to. I do not wish to enter into the controversy, but simply say that, on weighing the arguments on both sides, I am inclined to believe that the credit of the defeat of the Huns belongs to Yaśodharman. The authority of the Chinese traveller is second-hand and late. His statement that Mihirkula, the Hūna king, who is the hero of this controversy, lived 'some centuries ago'[7] should make one pause before taking him as an authority. By that statement, he carries the date of Bālāditya also 'some centuries ago,' which is against chronological facts. Thus, the authority of a pilgrim-traveller who speaks in later times, and that on second-hand hearsay information, and whose statement on the fact of the date of a king is incorrect, must be set aside, when placed by the side of the contemporary evidence of the inscriptions of the king who claims the victory. If Yaśodharman had not been the real victor, he would not have dared to get that inscription put up. He ran the risk of being taken for a braggart or a boaster by his contemporaries,—princes and peasants alike. The court-poet, while preparing the inscription verses, may praise the king and even make a god of him if he liked, but he would not dare, and his royal patron himself would not allow

1 Journal, Royal Asiatic Society, 1909, pp. 88-144.
2 Fleet's Gupta Inscriptions, Nos. 33 and 34, pp. 142-50.
3 History of India, 3rd edition (1914), pp. 318-21.
4 Si-yu-ki, Buddhist Records of the Western World, by Samuel Beal, Vol. I (1884), pp. 165-71.
5 Journal, B. B. R. A. Society, Vol. XIX, pp. 35-43.
6 Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1903, pp. 183-86.
7 Beal's Buddhist Records, Vol. I, p. 169.

him to dare, to attribute to the king, in the inscription, a feat or a deed which the king did not do. Exaggeration in praise is one thing but a false statement is another thing. The latter would lower the king in the esteem of his people who knew all the contemporary events.

The above Hun kings, Toramāna and Mihirkula, speak of themselves, on their coins, as "Shāhi" kings. We learn from Firdousi, that the king of the Haetalite Huns, who helped Firuz,[1] was spoken of as the Shāh of Haitāl.[2] He is also spoken of as the Chagāni Shāhi.[3] So, I think, the term "Shāhi," used by the Hun kings of India, refers to the title which they had assumed, and that the Huns who settled in India were of the same tribe as those who invaded Persia.

Though the above historical references and the epigraphical evidence speak of the inroads of the Huns in the 5th and 6th centuries after Christ, looking to the history of this great nation of the Huns, who had a running history of about 2,000 years, it appears that there were inroads of these people in times much anterior to these later times of the Guptas. According to M. Deguignes, the history of the Huns is the history "of a nation almost ignored which established at different times powerful monarchies in Asia, Europe and Africa. The Huns, who, later, bore the name of 'Turks,' natives of a country situated in the North of China, between the rivers Irtush and Amur, made themselves, by degrees, masters of the whole of the great Tartary. Since 200 B.C., several royal families have successively reigned in their vast countries. They had empires more extensive than that of Rome, some illustrious emperors, some legislators and conquerors, who have given rise to considerable evolutions."[4] The Huns in their long history of about 2,000 years, and in their distant marches of more than 2,000 miles, one way or another in the East or in the West, in the North or in the South, were known under a dozen different names at different times and different places.

1 I have referred to this King Firuz at some length in my paper on the Huns before the B. B. R. A. Society (J. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XXIV, pp. 570, *et seq*) According to the Grand Bundehesh (p. 215 ll. 5-8 of Tehmuras Photo-litho Text), Firouz had entered into an agreement with a Hunnic king Khoushnavâz. It says: "In the reign of Firuz Yazdagard, when six years passed, there was the calamity of a famine and Khushnavâz, the king of the Haiptalites, killed Pirouz."
2 Mecan's Calcutta edition of the Shah-nameh, Vol. III, p. 1589.
3 Ibid.
4 I give my own translation from "Histoire Générale des Huns, des Turcs, des Moguls, et des autre Tartares, occidentaux, etc., avant et depuis Jesus Christ jusqu'à present," par M. Deguignes (1756), Tome I, Partie I, Preface, p. V.

The history of Persia, the history which one may perhaps like to call comparatively the pre-historic history of Persia, points to the existence of the Huns centuries before Christ. The Avesta writings clearly show this. These writings show that the name of the Huns, by which these poople are known, is a very old name of times long anterior to Christ ; and this further confirms the views of M. Deguignes in the matter.

The Huns are spoken of in the Avesta as the *Hunus*. We find the following reference to them.

I. We read thus in the Ābān Yasht—

(53) Tāṁ Yazata takhmō Tusō rathaēṣtārō barēṣaēṣu paiti aspanāṁ zāvarē jaidhyantō hitaēibyō dravatātem tanubyō pouru-spakhṣtīm tbiṣayantāṁ paitijaitīm duṣmainyavanāṁ hathrāniváitīm hamerethenāṁ aurvathanam tbiṣyantāṁ. (54) Āat hīm jaidhyat avat āiyaptem dazdi mē vanguhi seviṣtē Ardvīsūra anāhitē yat bavāni aiwi-vanyāu aurva *Hunavō* vaeskaya upa dvarem khṣathrōsaokem apanōtemem kanghaya bērēzantya aṣavanaya yatha azem nijanāni Tūiryanāṁ dakhyunāṁ pancasagnāi ṣatagnāiṣca satagnāi hazangragniṣca hazangragnāi baēvaregnaisca baēvaregnāi ahaṅkhṣtagnaiṣca. (55) Dathat ahmāi tat avat āyaptem Ardvīsūra anāhita hadha zaothrō barāi arēdrāi yazemnāi jaidhyantāi dāthriṣ āyaptem.

Translation :—(53) The brave warrior Tusa invoked her (Ardvīsūra) riding on horse-back and praying for strength to his horses, strength to [his own] body, great watchfulness over those who annoyed him, power to strike his enemies, power to run down his foes, adversaries and annoyers. (54) Then he asked of her : O good beneficient holy Ardvīsūra ! give me this gift, that I may be the overcomer of the brave *Hunus* of Vaēśaka[1] at the gate of the lofty [fort of] Khṣathrōsaoka of the high and holy Kanga,[2] [and] that I may kill the fifties and the hundreds, the hundreds and the thousands, the thousands and the ten-thousands [and] the ten-thousands and the innumerables of [the people of] the country of Turan. (55) Holy Ardvīsūra granted the desire

1 Dr. West is wrong in translating " Hunavō Vaēskaya " as the " Hunus in Vaeska " and thus taking Vaēska to be the name of a place (Legends relating to Keresasp, Pahlavi Texts, Part II, S.B.E. XVIII, p. 39', n. 4).

2 Firdousi places the fortress of Kang (Kangdez) at about a month's distance from China. Maçoudi (II, p 131, ch. 21) also places it (Kenkeder) in China.

of him who carried offerings, gave gifts, made invocations [and] sought the fulfilment of desires.

II. We further read in the Ābān Yasht :

(57) Tāṁ yazenta aurva *Hunavō* Vaēskaya upa dvarem khṣathrō-saokem apanōtemem Kanghaya berezantya aṣavanaya sateē aspanāṁ arṣnāṁ hazangrē gavaṁ baēvarē anumayanaṁ. (58) Āat hīm jaidhyen avat āyaptem dazdi nō vanguhi sevistē Ardvīsūra anāhitē yat bavāma aiwivanyāu takhmem Tusem rathaēstārem yatha vaēm nijanāma airyanam dakhyunam pancasagnāi satagnāisca satagnāi hazangragnāisca hazangragnāi baēvarēgnāisca baēvaregnāi ahaṅkhstagnāisca. (59) Nôit aēibyaścit dathat tat avat āyaptem Ardvīsūra anāhita.

Translation:—(57) The brave *Hunus* of Vaēsaka invoked her (Ardvīsūra) at the gate of the lofty [fort of] Khsathrōsaoka of the high and holy Kanga, with one hundred horses, one thousand oxen, [and] ten thousand lambs. (58) Then [thus invoking] they asked of her: " O good beneficient holy Ardvīsūra ! give us this gift, that we may be the overcomers of the brave warrior Tusa [and] that we may kill the fifties and the hundreds, the hundreds and the thousands, the thousands and the ten-thousands, [and] the ten-thousands and the innumerables of [the people of] the country of Iran." (59) Holy Ardvīsūra did not grant this gift to them.

We gather the following facts from the above passages of the Ābān Yasht on the *Hunus*: (1) Vaēsaka was one of the brave leaders, or rather the family of the leaders, of the *Hunus*. This Vaēsaka of the Avesta seems to be the same as Visak of the Pahlavi Bundehesh (chap. xxxi, 16, 17),[1] one of the ancestors of the Turanians, an uncle of Afrāsiāb[2] and the father of Pirān, the Turanian Nestor. He is the Viseh of Firdousi's Shahnameh. (2) An Iranian hero Tusa[3] was a great enemy, or rather Tusa's family and descendants were great enemies, of Vaēsaka or of Vaēsaka's family and

1 *Vide* my Bundehesh, p. 169.

2 According to M. Gabriel Bonvalot, travellers are, even now, shown at Samarkand, a place known as that of the Cemetry of Aprosiāb (Afrāsiāb). The present ruins of Samarkand include the ruins of Afrasiab and are known as the city of Afrāsiāb (Through the Heart of Asia, by M. Gabriel Bonvalot, translated from the French by Pitman, Vol. II, pp. 7 and 31). For further particulars about him, *vide* my Dictionary of Avesta Proper Names, p. 130. *Vide* also Tārikh-i-Rashid , by Elias, pp. 286-7.

3 It is this Tus that is said to have been the founder of the city of Tus, the birth-place of the great Firdousi Tousi.

descendants. We learn from Firdousi, the special reason why these two families were so very hostile. In the war between the Iranian Naodar, the father of Tusa, and the Turanian Afrāsiāb, the nephew of Viseh, Bārmān, a son of Viseh was killed. Naodar was killed by Afrāsiāb in revenge.[1] (3) The head-quarters of this Hun hero Vaēsaka and his tribe was, at that time, at a place called Kanga, somewhere in Central Asia. It is the Kangdez, *i.e.*, the Fortress of Kang of the Shah-nameh. (4) The time of this war between the Iranian Tus and the Turanian Hun Vaēsaka or Visa, was long anterior to that of king Vistāsp, who, according to later Pahlavi writers, lived, at least, about seven centuries before Christ. Thus, we see from the Avesta, that the *Hunus* or the Huns appear first in history as fighting with the Iranians long before the 7th century before Christ.

III. The next reference to the Hūṇas in the Avesta is in the Meher Yasht (Yt. x. 113) where we read as follows:—

Tat nō jamyāt avanghē Mithra Ahura berezanta yat berezem barāt astra vācim aspanāmca srifa khsufsān astrāu kahyān jyāu nivaithyān tigrāunghō astayō tadha *Hunavō* gouru-zaothranām jata paithyāunti frā-varesa.

Translation:—May the great Mithra and Ahura come to our help there, where the weapons of war jingle (lit. raise loud noise), the hoofs of horses rattle, the daggers clink, [and] bows shoot forth sharp arrows. There [by the arrival of Mithra and Ahura for assistance] the *Hunus*, the mala fide offerers of sacrifices, go about smitten and with dishevelled hair.

The word *Hunu* in the Avesta also means a son. It is used for bad or wicked sons. It is the Sanskrit *sūnu*, Eng. son. So, Darmesteter, Kavasji E. Kanga, Harlez, Spiegel and others take the word here as a common noun in the sense of 'sons' or 'descendants.' But, I think, there is here a clear reference to the battles with the *Hunus* or Huns.

In the present passage, there is an invocation to Mithra and Ahura for help in the battle-field, so that, with their help, certain persons may be smitten. These persons, all the translators take to be the descendants or sons (*Hunu*) of some evil-minded persons. I would ask: Why are Mithra and Ahura invoked for smiting the children of the evil-doers and not the evil-doers themselves? One cannot admit the justice of such an invocation. So, I submit, that

1 Le Livre des Rois, par M. Mohl, Vol. I, p. 422.

it is clear, that it is the evil-doers themselves, the *Hunus*, against whom the invocation is made. We are not in a sure and certain position to determine the time of this reference to the Huns.

IV. We read as follows in the Jamyād Yasht about a great Iranian hero Kērēsāsp:—

41. Yō janat *Hunavō* yat pathanya nava *Hunavaś*-ca Nivikahē *Hunavaś*-ca Dāstayānois.

Translation:—Who (Karesāspa) smote the *Hunus*, the nine highwaymen, the *Hunus* of the Nivika, the *Hunus* of the Dāstaya tribe.

Other translators like Kanga, Darmesteter, Spiegel, have taken the word *Hunu*, which occurs thrice in this passage, as a common noun for 'sons or descendants.' West[1] and Harlez have taken the word in its first place, as a proper noun for the *Hunus*, and in the next two places, for common nouns. I think that it is a proper noun in all the three places and refers to a fight with the *Hunus*. Harlez gives the following note over the word *Hunus*: "Personnages légendaires inconnu. Les légendes recueillies dans les Shahnāmeh parlent aussi de brigands tués par des héros et de brigands au nombre de cinq ou sept."[2]

Harlez supposes this name to be legendary, but it seems to be a reference to the Huns. The time of this reference seems to be well-nigh the same as, or even a little anterior to, that referred to in the Ābān Yasht. The Haoma Yasht (Yaçna IX, 6-13) places Keresasp's time long before Zoroaster. The Ābān Yasht (Yt. V, 37) places his time somewhat before that of Afrāsiāb, the nephew of the Vaēsaka or Visa above referred to. The Rām Yasht (Yt. XV, 27) also places him before Zoroaster.

Keresasp was a great Iranian hero who is more than once referred to in the Avesta. Some of his exploits are referred to in the Zamyād Yasht. One of these exploits was, as said above, that of smiting the *Hunus*. It seems that these exploits were described at some length in the Sudgar Nask, one of the lost books out of the twenty-one books of the Avesta that are believed to have been extant at one time. Though almost all the Nasks have been lost, we know from the ninth book of the Dinkard, what their contents were. Similarly, we find

1 Legends relating to Keresasp, Pahlavi Texts, Part II, S. B. E., Vol. XVIII, p. 370.
2 Le Zend Avesta, p. 546, n. 5.

therein, in brief, the contents of the Sudgar Nask.[1] In the contents of the fourteenth Fargard Ad-fravakhsyā we find the exploits of Keresasp. Therein, we find that the above-mentioned exploit with the Huns, referred to in the Zamyād Yasht, is described thus—

> "When the Veskō progeny who (were descendants) of Nīvīk [and] Dāstānik [were] slain by him."[2]

Here in the Pahlavi passage, we do not find the word *Hunu* repeated as in the Zamyād Yasht with the two proper names Nīvīka and Dāstāyana, *i. e.*, the word for 'son' as understood by the different translators, has not been given. Dr. West has himself added the word 'descendants.' This fact seems to me to show that the word *Hunu* in the Zamyād Yasht is used as a proper noun for the *Hunus* or Huns in all the three places and not as a common noun in the sense of 'sons.'

The Pahlavi legend is also preserved in the Pahlavi Rivāyet accompanying the Dādistān-i-Dini.[3] Therein, where the particular exploit of Keresasp in connection with the *Hunus* mentioned in the above passage of the Zamyād Yasht is referred to, we do not find the name *Hunu* but we find that the persons whom Keresasp smote are spoken of only as *rāçdâr*,[4] *i. e.*, highwaymen, which is a Pahlavi equivalent of the Avesta 'Pathan.'

In the Persian legend of Keresasp, which is the rendering of the above Pahlavi Revāyats, we find the word *rāh-dār* which is the same as Pahlavi *rāçdâr*.

These Pahlavi and Persian renderings of the original exploit show that the *Hunus* or Huns, with whom Keresasp fought, were by profession, as it were, highwaymen. The Avesta Zamyād Yasht, gives the number of their leaders as nine (*nava*). The Pahlavi Revāyat gives no number. But the Persian Revāyat has reduced the number to seven.

1 For the Pahlavi Text, *vide* Dinkard compiled by Mr. D. M. Madon, Vol. II, pp. 802-803. *vide* West's Dinkard (S. B. E., XXXVII, Pahlavi Texts, Pt. IV. pp. 197-99), Bk. IX, Ch. XV. *vide* also West's Legends relating to Keresasp in the S. B. E., Vol. XVIII (Pahlavi Texts, Pt. II. pp. 370-72). For the Persian rendering of the legend, *vide* the Saddar Bundehesh (Chap. XX, pp 86-92), edited by Ervad Bomanji N. Dhabhar. For the translation of this Persian legend, *vide* Ervad Edalji Kersaspji Antia's paper "The Legend of Keresasp." in the Spiegel Memorial Volume, edited by me (pp. 93-98).

2 West S. B. E., XXXVII, p. 198, XVIII, p. 372.

3 For the text of this *vide* "The Pahlavi Rivāyet accompanying the Dadistān-i-Dinik," edited by Ervad Bomanji N. Dhabhar (1913), pp. 65 to 74, No. XVII.

4 *Ibid*, p. 69, l. 7.

Now, what was the time of this fight of the Iranians with the Huns referred to in the Zamyād Yasht? From the fact that this war or battle was led by Keresasp, we may properly conclude that it referred to times long anterior to king Vistāsp and Zoroaster, *i. e.*, long anterior to at least about B.C. 700.

V. The next references to the Huns are in the Farvardin (Yt. xiii, 100) and Zamyād (Yt. xix, 86) Yashts, where we read thus about king Vistāsp (Gustāsp):—

Yō hīm stātām hitām haitīm uzvazat haca *Hunāiwyō*.

Translation :—Who (King Vistāsp) separated it (*i. e.*, the Zoroastrian religion referred to in the preceding para), strong, holy-existing from (the influence of) the *Hunus*.

Darmesteter, Spiegel, Harlez and Haug very properly take the word *Hunu* in this passage for a proper noun, but Kanga takes it for a common noun.

In the Farvardin and Zamyād Yashts, king Vistāsp or Gustāsp, the patron of Zoroaster and of the Zoroastrian religion, is spoken of, as said above, as separating the religion of Iran from the influence of the *Hunus*. In the Gos Yasht,[1] Vistāsp prays for overcoming eight foreign kings or chiefs. Among them, one is Khyaona Arejataspa, who is spoken of in the Pahlavi Aiyādgār-i-Zarirān (Memoirs of Zarir) as Arjāsp-i-Khyōnān Khudāi,[2] *i. e.*, Arjāsp the king of the Khyaonas. We find a similar prayer in the Aṣiṣvang Yasht.[3] Vistāsp had to fight three wars with this Turanian king Arjāsp. Firdousi refers to these at some length. The wars were due to the appearance of Zoroaster as a prophet in the court of Vistāsp. According to Firdousi, Zoroaster advised his royal patron to free himself from the yoke and influence of this Turanian king. So, taking the above passage of the Farvārdin Yasht in connection with the passage of the Gos Yasht above referred to and with the Pahlavi writing of the Aiyādgār, it seems that Arjāsp the Turanian with whom Vistāsp fought, and his tribesmen the Khyaonas, were all Huns.

From the passages of the Yashts, at least of the Farvardin and Zamyād Yashts, we find that the *Hunus* or Huns lived in the time of king Vistāsp and

1 Yt. IX, 31, 32.

2 *Vide* my "Aiyādgār-i-Zarirān, Shatrōiha-i-Airan and Afdiya va Sāhigiya-i-Seistan" (1899), p. 5.

3 Yt. XVII, 49-50.

Zoroaster, which, if not anterior to, was at least not later than, that of the 7th century before Christ.

These *Hunus* seem to have belonged to the same group of hostile tribes to which the Varedhakas and the Khyaonas belonged. King Viṣtāsp, the patron king of Zoroaster, who is represented as opposing the *Hunus*,[1] is also represented as opposing the Varedhakas[2] and the Khyaonas.[3]

According to Darmesteter, the Varedhakas, referred to in the Avesta as a hostile tribe like the *Hunus*, may be the later Vertae. Similarly, the Khyaonas were the Chionitae. They lived somewhere on the western coast of the Caspian.[4]

From this rather long examination of the Avesta passages, we find that the *Hunus* were known in Persia as a wandering and pillaging nation or tribe before the 7th century of the Christian era.

Among the several passages of the Avesta which we have examined, we find that there is some difference among scholars about the meaning of the word *Hunu* in some passages. But there are some for which there is no difference, especially in the passages referred to in the Ābān Yasht which refer to the war between the Iranians of Tusa and the *Hunus* of the Turanian Vaēsaka.

The early Huns, *i. e.*, the Huns of the times of the Avesta, seem to have professed well-nigh the same religion as that of the early Iranians. We see this from the ceremonial form of their prayers, referred to in the Ābān Yasht (Yt. V, 53, 58). We see, from the passages of this Yasht given above, that both the Iranian Tusa and the *Hunus* of Vaēsaka invoke Ardvīsūra with the same ceremonial offering. They both offer 100 horses, 1,000 oxen and 10,000 lambs.

Secondly, we learn from the Pahlavi Aiyādgār-i-Zarirān that Arjāsp raised a war against Viṣtāsp because the latter acknowledged the new religion of Zoroaster. Why should he have done so had they professed different religions? Though hostile and though differing in the details of their belief, they seem to have followed a common religion, a religion the main elements of which were the same. Had it not been

1 Farvardin Yasht, 100.
2 Gosh Yasht, 31; Asisavang Yasht, 51.
3 *Ibid.* and Zamyād Yasht, 87.
4 Darmesteter. S. B. E., Vol. XXIII, p. 117, n. 6, Yasht IX, 100, n. 6.

so, there was no special reason for Arjāsp to declare war for the sake of religion. We read in the Pahlavi Aiyādgār: "Arjāsp, the king of the Khyaonas, had the startling news that king Viṣtāsp, had, with his sons, brothers and family, chiefs and equals, accepted from Oharmazd this holy religion of the Mazdayasnāns. Thereby he was much distressed."[1] Further on, we read the following message of Arjāsp to Viṣtāsp: "I have heard that Your Majesty has accepted from Oharmazd the pure Mazdayasnān religion. If you will not think of it, great harm and unhappiness may result to us from that (religion). But if it please Your Majesty, and you give up this pure religion, and be of the same religion with us, then we will pay homage to you as a king."[2] These passages show that Arjāsp resents Vistāsp's forsaking the common ancestral religion and adopting the new Mazdayasnān one of Zoroaster.

Again, according to the Iranian tradition, recorded in the Pahlavi Bundehesh, the Iranians and the Turanians at first belonged to the same group. They had a common ancestor. This fact also shows that they had well-nigh the same religion. We find from the above passages of the Farvardin (100) and the Zamyād (86) Yashts that with the help of king Gustāsp, Zoroaster separated the good elements from the bad ones, and, rejecting the latter, purified the old religion. That was his great work of reform. Firdousi (Calcutta ed. III, p. 1548) represents even the later Huns as praying in fire-temples with *bāz* and *barsam*, the sacred requisites of Zoroastrian worship. According to Firdousi, king Behramgore sent the queen of the Khakan of the Hunnic Turks to the fire-temple of Âzar Goushasp as a state prisoner to serve there.

We also learn from Indian history based on epigraphical, numismatic, and literary materials that Mihirakula was a foreign Hun king whom the Indian king Yaśodharman, or, as said by Mr. Vincent Smith, both Yaśodharman and Bālāditya combined, defeated. Rājataraṅginī,[3] the history of Kāśmīr by Kalhana, refers to this Mihirakula at some length. We learn the following facts from this work about Mihirakula: (1) He founded the temple of Mihireśvara and the city of Mihirapura. (2) He allowed the Gandhāri Brahmans, a low race, to seize upon the endowments of the more respectable

1 *Vide* my Aiyādgār-i-Zarirān, etc., p. 3.
2 *Ibid*, p. 5.
3 Bk. I, stanzas 306 *et seq.*, Troyer's French Translation of 1840, Vol. I, pp. 33 *et seq.* *Vide* also Sir Aurel Stein's Text and Translation and Wilson's Essay on the Hindu History of Kāśmir in the *Asiatic Researches*, Volume V (pp. 1-11), n. 23.

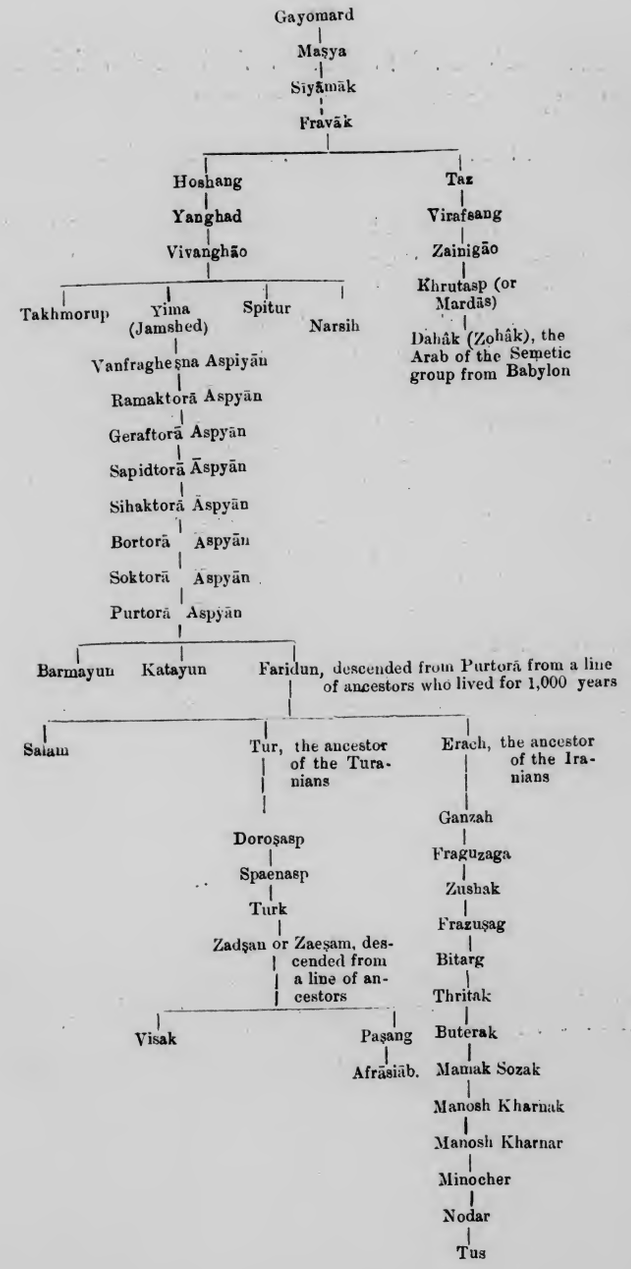
orders of the Hindu priesthood. (3) These Gandhāri Brahmans of Mihirakula had the custom of the next-of-kin marriages among them.[1] (4) A number of flesh-devouring birds followed the army of this king.[2]

The very name Mihirakula is, as said by Dr. Stein, Iranian. The names of the temple and city founded by him are Iranian. The marriage custom attributed to him is the matriarchal custom alleged to be tribal with some Persian people.[3] The reference to the flesh-eating birds points to the Iranian custom of the disposal of the dead. All these facts and references point to an inference that the religion of this Hun king, Mihirakula, had many elements which were common to the religion of the early Iranians.

According to the Avesta,[4] the people of the then known world were divided into five groups: (1) the Airyas, (2) the Turyas, (3) the Sarimyas or the people who dwelt in Syria, (4) the Sāini, or the Chinese and (5) the Dāhæ. Of these five stocks, the first three are traced from the three sons of king Faridun, the Thraētaona of the Avesta. These three sons were Salam, Tur and Irach. From Salam descended the stock of the Sarimyas, from Tur that of the Turanians and from Irach that of the Iranians. Vistāsp came from the stock of Irach and Arjāsp from that of Tur.

Vaēsaka, the typical Hūna or Hūn, and Tusa, the typical Iranian, descended, according to the Pahlavi Bundehesh, from a common ancestor. The following geneological tree, prepared from the account of the Bundehesh, gives their descent from Gayomard, supposed to be the first king of the countries, of which Airyana Vaeja or Iran formed a part:—

1 The stanza referring to this custom is omitted in Dr. Stein's Text but is found in Troyer's Text p. 38. Dr. Stein refers to this omission in the footnote. As to Mihirkula, Dr. Stein also thinks that the name is Iranian.
2 Rajatarangini, stanza i, 291.
3 For this custom, see a paper on "Royal Marriages and Matrilineal Descent," by Miss Margaret Murray (Journal of the Anthropological Institute of England, July-December 1915).
4 Farvardin Yasht, Yt. XIII. 144.



IDOL-WORSHIP. DID IT EXIST AMONG THE ANCIENT ARYANS, AND AMONG THEM, AMONG THE ANCIENT HINDUS OF THE VEDIC TIMES?

I

Introduction.

In the Journal[1] of the Royal Asiatic Society of England, there was, of late, a discussion between Prof. A. A. Macdonell and Mr. S. V. Venkateswara, as to whether Idol-worship prevailed in Vedic times. The former said, that it did not prevail, while the latter said, that it did. The object of this Paper is to submit a few points for consideration on the subject from the point of view of other sister Aryan nations.

In his Paper, entitled "The Development of Early Hindu Iconography" in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society,[2] Prof. Macdonell says, "In the earliest product of Indian literature, the Rigveda, the gods, being largely personifications of natural phenomena, were only vaguely anthropomorphic. To the imagination of the poets of the hymns, the gods were outwardly differentiated mainly by the weapons[3] they wielded or the animals[4] that drew their cars. They were not as yet iconographically represented. Literary evidence indicates that regular images of gods were not made till the latest Vedic period. They were known in the middle of the second century B.C. to the grammarian Patanjali and most probably to Pânini nearly two centuries earlier."[5]

1 J. R. A. S. 1916, 1917, p. 587 and 1918. 2 J. R. A. S. Vol. of 1916, pp. 125—130.

3 As examples of representation by weapons in later times, as illustrated both in literature and sculpture, we find Vishnu holding a *Chakra*, *i.e.*, a disc or a wheel in his hand as a symbol, and *Shiva* holding a *trisula* or trident.

4 For example, Indra is known by his elephant; Surya by the seven horses of his chariot; Gangâ and Yamuna (Jamna) by the crocodile and the tortoise; and Lakhshmi by two elephants with a Lotus between them on which she sits. Cf. the representations in the Avesta, where the Sun (Hvarê khshaêta) is spoken of as having swift horses (aurvat-aspa. Khurshed Nyâish). Mithra is spoken of as having a chariot (vâsha) with a golden wheel (aêva chakhra zaranaênam. Meher Yasht, Yt. X, 136. *Vide* also *Ibid*, 67). In the Avesta, the *chakhra* is held to be a symbol of authority or influnce (Yt. XIII, 89).

5 J.R.A.S. for 1916, p. 125.

II

The evidence from the case of other Aryan nations. Irân.

I think, that the evidence of what we know about three other Aryan people supports Prof. Macdonell's view, that idol-worship did not exist in India in early Vedic times. The Aryan nations, I wish to speak about, are

1. The Irânians,
2. The Scythians, and
3. The Ancient Germans.

1. THE IRÂNIANS.

Herodotus thus speaks of the ancient Irânians:—"It is not their practice to erect statues, or temples, or altars, but they charge those with folly who do so; because, as I conjecture, they do not think the gods have human forms, as the Greeks do. They are accustomed to ascend the highest parts of the mountains, and offer sacrifice to Jupiter, and they call the whole circle of the heavens by the name of Jupiter. They sacrifice to the sun and moon, to the earth, fire, water, and the winds. To these alone they have sacrificed from the earliest times; but they have since learnt from the Arabians and Assyrians to sacrifice to Venus Urania, whom the Assyrians call Venus Mylitta, the Arabians, Alitta, and the Persians, Mitra. The following is the established mode of sacrifice to the abovementioned deities: they do not erect altars nor kindle fires when about to sacrifice; they do not use libations, or flutes, or fillets, or cakes; but, when any one wishes to offer sacrifice to any of these deities, he leads the victim to a clean spot, and invokes the god, usually having his tiara decked with myrtle. He that sacrifices is not permitted to pray for blessings for himself alone; but he is obliged to offer prayers for the prosperity of all the Persians, and the king, for he is himself included in the Persians. When he has cut the victim into small pieces, and boiled the flesh, he strews under it a bed of tender grass, generally trefoil, and then lays all the flesh upon it: when he has put everything in order, one of the Magi standing by sings an ode concerning the origin of the gods, which they say is the incantation; and without one of the Magi it is not lawful for them to sacrifice. After having waited a short

time, he that has sacrificed carries away the flesh and disposes of it as he thinks fit."[1] Again, we have the instance of the Persian King Cambyses, entering the temple of Vulcan and deriding the image of that God.[2] Xerxes, when he invaded Greece, threw down the images of gods.[3]

This long quotation from Herodotus shows, that what was the case with India, as pointed out by Prof. Macdonell, was also the case with Irân. There was no idol-worship there from very ancient times. Iran was pre-eminently against idol-worship. In the Hâdokht Yasht (Yt. XXII, 13), credit is given to a pious soul for disregarding idolatry and for resorting to pure Gatha-singing. In the Vishtâsp Yasht (Yt. XXIV-37), Zoroaster asks his royal disciple, Vishtâsp, to keep away from idolatry, which was an evil, an infection from Ahriman. In the same Yasht (59), Ahura Mazda advises the rejection of idol-worship and the acceptance of pure and simple Gatha-singing.

The Avesta word for idolatry in the above passage is بوسو *baosu*, the Pahlavi rendering of which in the Hâdokht nask is "*bûndak âiy shaidâ-yazakih*"[4] *i.e.*, "*bûndak* which is devil-worshipping." The Pahlavi rendering of the word in the Vishtasp Yasht is *ujdêsht bût parastih*, *i.e.*, idolatry.[5]

Coming down from the Avesta to the Pahlavi books, we find idol-worship run down in the Dinkard,[6] the Bundehesh, the Minokherad, the Bahman Yasht, the Virâf-Nâmeh, the Shatroihâ-i Airân, the Jâmâspi, the Kârnâmeh-i Ardeshir Babegân and Matan-i Shâh Vâhârân Vârjâvand. As Prof. Jackson says, all Pahlavi writings allude to "the abomination of idol-worship as wholly abhorrent to the pure spirit of Zoroastrianism that is in keeping with its ideal conception of the divine."[7] He further on says : "I must emphasize that the Persians from the earliest antiquity had no idols in the sense of representations of the godhead set

1 Herodotus, Bk. 1, 131-32, Carey's Translation.

2 *Ibid.* Bk. III, 37. 3 *Ibid* Bk. VIII, 109.

4 Hadokht Nask II, 13. *Vide* the Book of Ardâi Virâf by Dastur Hoshang Jamasp, p 287. Le Zend Avesta, par Darmesteter Vol. II, p. 653.

5 *Vide* Le Zend Avesta, par Darmesteter II, p. 653.

6 Dinkard Bk. VII, Chap. 1, 19, Chap. IV, 72, S. B. E. XLVII, p. 8 and p. 67.

7 *Vide* Prof. Jackson's article, entitled "Allusions in Pahlavi Literature to the Abomination of Idol-worship," in the Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy Zarthoshti Madressa Jubilee Volume, p. 274. *Vide* also my notice of the article in the Introduction to that Volume, pp. XL-XLI.

up as object of worship ; nor does Zoroaster refer to them. If, moreover, Darius and the other Achæmenian kings caused to be carved above their bas-relief effigies in stone a half-figure representing Aüra-Mazda as floating in a symbolic circle and handing to the king a ring as the emblem of sovereignty, it is nevertheless a motive borrowed from Assyrian and Babylonian art and was doubtless chosen for the special purpose of appealing to the non-Persian conquered nations, who were more anthropomorphic in their ideas.[1] .....Nor is any exception formed to the general truth by the fact that there is in Sâsânian times a mounted figure of Ormazd (known by his name occurring in the attached inscription) carved in stone at Naqsh-i-Rustam to represent the deity in the act of bestowing the crown upon Ardashir. Idolatry played no part in the history of the religion."[2]

One may perhaps point against the above quotations and references from Herodotus and the Avesta and Pahlavi books, the supposed case of the Achæmenian King Artaxerxes Nemon, who is said, by some, to have founded the statues of Anâhita and Mithra. But here, one must remember, that the rendering of that portion of his inscription, which is pointed out as referring to this subject, is not certain. The reading of the inscription as given by Dr. Spiegel is :—

"Anahata utâ Mithra vashnâ Auramazdâha apadânâ adam ak'unavam Auramazdâ. Anahata utâ Mithra mâm pât'uv."[3] Spiegel renders this as: "Durch die Gnade von Auramazda, habe ich Anâhita und Mithra in diesen Palast gesetzt? Auramazda, Anâhita und Mithra mögen mich schützen," *i.e.* "By the favour of Aura Mazda, I have put Anâhita and Mithra in this Palace. May Aura Mazda, Anâhita and Mithra protect me." Spiegel puts a mark of question after the word 'gesetzt' *i.e.* 'put,' thus showing, that he has some doubts about his interpretation of the sentence.

1 The conventionalized form taken to be thus borrowed from the Babylonians and Assyrians, has been taken by others to be a representation of the *fravashi* or *farôhar*, *i.e.*, the idealized spirit of the King. That it is so, is supported by the fact, that the features of both the king and the *fravashi* are similar. Prof. Jackson differs from this view.

2 *Vide* the above Jubilee Volume, p. 274.

3 Die Altpersischen Keilinschriften, von Fr. Spiegel, 1881, p. 68-69.

Tolman[1] gives the same reading, and translates : " Anahata and Mithra .....by the grace of Auramazda the building I made ; let Auramazda, Anahata and Mithra protect me."

Weissbach and Bang's[2] rendering also is similar. It does not point clearly to statues.

Thus, we see, that the inscription does not point to the installation of the images of Anâhita and Mithra. What was really meant by the king seems to be, that he had patronized and helped some special glorification of the Yazatas, Anâhita and Mithra. Perhaps, he specially founded temples in honour of these Yazatas. Just as we have fire-temples in India specially connected with Varahrâm (Behrâm), the 20th Yazata, and known as Âtash Behrâm, so, there may be some special temples connected with the names of Anâhita and Mithra.

Even if it were supposed, that the reference in the inscription is to statues of Anâhita and Mithra, there is not the slightest idea of the foundation of any kind of idol-worship. This appears from the fact, that out of the many Yazatas only these two are referred to in this connection. Now these two Yazatas—Mithra and Anâhita—were those, whose worship had prevailed among some foreign nations. The worship of Anâhita, known to the Greeks as Anâitis, who, by some, is compared to Artemis and by others to Aphrodite or Urania, was known in one form or another among some Western nations. A part of the portrait of Anâhita, as pictured in the Âbân Yasht, is, in many points, similar to that of the Greek Aphrodite (Urania),[3] and a part is similar to that of Artemis.[4] Again, we know that the worship of Mithra had from an early time prevailed in the West. These two worships then may have created the production of statues. So, it is possible that the Western method of the worship of the two Yazatas may have reflected itself somewhat in Persia in the later Achæmenian times. Artaxerxes, following the Westerns, may

1 A Guide to the old Persian Inscriptions, by Herbert Cushing Tolman, pp. 90 and 158.
2 Die Altpersischen Keilinschriften, von F. H. Weissbach and W. Bang (1893), pp. 45-47.
3 *Vide* my કદીમ ઇરાનીઓ *i.e.*, Ancient Iranians according to Herodotus and Strabo, p. 18.
4 *Ibid.* p. 19.

have merely produced these statues from an art point of view. That there was no worship of the statues as idols, is proved from the very fact, that had there been anything of the kind, why should the Iranians have stopped short with these two Yazatas and not proceeded to do the same with other Yazatas ? This shows that there may be an attempt only at *statue-making* but not at idol-worship. We find that the Western idea of statues had affected Darius who, when in Egypt, at one time, thought of erecting his own statue[1] opposite to that of an old Egyptian magnate, but he was dissuaded. The idea seems to have been created that the person, in whose honour a statue was erected, was thereby dignified.

Bût-parastish, a later Persian word for idol-worship.

In later Persian books, idol-worship is spoken of as Bût-parstish, wherein the word *bût* has come to mean an idol. This Persian word *bût* comes from the Avesta Buiti (Vendidad XIX, 1, 2, 43). In the Avesta, Buiti is the name of a *div*. The Pahlavi form of the Avesta Buiti is *Bût*. We read in the Pahlavi Bundehesh : " Bût shâedâ zak mûnash pavan Hindukân paraçtand. Avash vakhsh pavan zak *butihâ* mehmân chegûn bût-i asp paraçtêt."[2] *i.e.*, " The demon *bût* is one who is worshipped among the Hindus. The increase (of its worship) consists in idols. For example they worship the idol of a horse." This seems to be a reference to the idol-worship among the Buddhists. Among the Tibetan Buddhists, there is a horse-dragon called Long-ma.[3]

Dislike for idols among Mahomedans, the successors of Iranians in the land of Iran.

The dislike of Mahomedans for idols is well-known. They carried on, as it were, the tradition and the teaching, in this matter, of the Zoroastrian countries with which they had come into close contact and which they soon occupied. It seems to be strange, that the Mahomedan religion which had its cradle in Arabia, where there prevailed some form of idol-worship[4] should be iconoclastic. But, this seems to be the result of the influence—one of many such influences in the

1 Herodotus Bk. II, 110.
2 Chap. XXVIII, 34. *Vide* my Bundehesh, pp. 138-39.
3 *Vide* for his picture, Waddell's " Buddhism of Tibet or Lamaism," pp. 410-411.
4 According to Maçoudi (Chap. XLIII), at one time, there prevailed idolatry in Arabia. It was the Jewish religion that first began to replace it.

matter of religion—of Zoroastrianism upon Mahomedanism. The great Anusheravân (Noshirvân the Just, Chosroes I) had a stronger hold upon Southern Arabia. So, he may have furthered the influence of the Jews and others against idolatry. The Prophet himself is said to have expressed his pleasure and pride for the fact, that he was born in the times of a great king like Noshirwan the Just. So, a close observer as he was, of men round about him and of their doings, he approved what he thought was good in Zoroastrianism and embodied it in his new religion. Dislike of idolatry may be one of these things, which pre-eminently seems to have appealed to his cultured mind. He was emphatically against any kind of idolatry, even against any form that came nearer to it.

The Mahomedan view[1] against the use of idols is said to have been based on their belief, that in idols or images made by men, life will enter on the day of Kiâmat, *i.e.*, on the judgment-day. But those objects, though revived with life, will not possess human or spiritual privileges. That being the case, the life-bearing images and idols will curse their owners. That being the belief, it is said, that when the wife of the Prophet, on one occasion, produced for prayers a carpet bearing some pictures on it, the Prophet was much displeased. Again, that being their belief, the Mahomedans, at one time, did not like the portraits of the kings on their coins. Latterly, in cases where there were portraits, the eyes of the portraits were made so small as to obscure the face of the person. The image of the face being thus imperceptible, the portraits on coins were tolerated to some extent. One can thus understand why certain Mahomedan kings, when they destroyed Hindu temples, and their idols, they destroyed the faces. Without faces the idols would be no idols.

2. THE SCYTHIANS.

The Scythians were a chip of an old Aryan stock. As said by Prof. Gutschmid, their deities "have also an Aryan complexion."[2] They also had their gods of the heaven,—the Sun and the Sea and their goddesses of earth and fecundity like the ancient Indians and the Iranians. Prof. Gutschmid says of

1 *Vide* "Southern India," by Lady Lawley, p. 49.
2 Encyclopædia Britannica, 9th ed., Vol. XXI, p. 576.

them, that "in true Iranian fashion, the gods were adored without images altars, or temples."[1]

3. THE ANCIENT GERMANS.

According to Cæsar, "they (the ancient Germans) reckon those alone in the number of gods which are the objects of their perception, and by whose attributes, they are visibly benefited; as the Sun, the Moon and Vulcan."[2] These gods of the ancient Germans then are the same as the gods of the ancient Hindus, —Sûrya, Chandra and Agni—and the same as the Yazatas of the ancient Iranians,—Hvarê Khshaêta, Mâongha and Âtar. Tacitus says, that "they (the Germans) conceive it unworthy of the grandeur of celestial beings to confine their deities within walls, or to represent them under a human similitude: woods and groves are their temples."[3] What Tacitus says of the ancient Germans, is, as it were, a version of what Herodotus says, as quoted above, of the ancient Iranians. It shows, that there was no idol-worship among the ancient Germans as there was none among the ancient Irânians.

III

IDOL-WORSHIP IN INDIA. IS IT INDIGENOUS OR IMPORTED?

We thus see, that none of the other three ancient Aryan people—the Iranians, the Germans and the Scythians—who were the off-shoots of an old Aryan stock, had idol-worship among them. So, a likely inference is, that there should be no idol-worship among the ancient Hindus also, an old off-shoot, whose Rishis sang their songs of Nature in their Hymns of the Vedas.

Arrian on places of worship in pre-Buddhistic times.

Arrian, referring to Megasthenes, says, that there were about 118 Indian tribes, who were "nomadic like those Scythians who did not till the soil, but roamed about in their wagons, as the seasons varied from one part of Scythia to another, neither dwelling in towns nor worshipping in temples; . . . . . The Indians likewise had neither

1 *Ibid.* 2 De Bello Gallico VII, as quoted by Dr. Aikin, the Translator of Tacitus, p. 25.
3 *Ibid.* Germania of Tacitus, IX, translated by Aikin.

towns nor temples of the gods."[1] This is a picture of the very early Âryan imigrants into India.

Idol-worship necessitates the building of temples.

There is one important thing which we must bear in mind. It is, that when a people has idol-worship, it must have temples for locating the idols. Now, it seems, that the very early Âryans whose picture we see in the early hymns of the Rig-Veda, were, to some extent, a people not settled in a centre. They were people who moved from place to place and who thus came into contact with Nature. So, they were not in a position to build temples which are the accompaniments of a long settled life in one locality.

If there was no idol-worship in very early Vedic times, and if it appeared in later times, the question arises, Whether it came later on, from outside, or whether it grew up in India itself? There are some, who say that it came from outside. Some say, that, *at least* a part of the Hindu iconography was the result of Semitic influence.[2] Some say, that it came from Greece. It is believed that the Greeks of the Gandhara School introduced idol-worship into India. Before the time of Asoka, there was no idol-worship. The *pâd, i.e.*, the feet of Buddha were first worshipped. Latterly, images of Buddha began to be made, and the first image made, had, as its model, an image of Apollo, the Greek sun-god.[3] But it seems that idol-worship, though it did not exist in very old Vedic times, originated in the country itself. Foreign influence may have affected the forms, etc., of the idols from the point of view of art, but it did not originate idol-worship. In India from very ancient times, there was the tendency to idealism. Later on, the idealistic conceptions began to be developed into iconographic works. Art became the co-adjutor of religion. Temples, which were the best specimens of art, became in themselves educative sources. Music, as an art, began to educate by sound. Temples, images, paintings, as works of art began to educate by sight. Idols began to be an expression of ideals.

1 "Ancient India," by McCrindle (1877), p. 199.
2 J. R. A. S. of 1916, p. 130.
3 The Journal of American Oriental Society, May 1917.

If indigenous, among whom did idol-worship originate?

If idol-worship did not exist in early Vedic times, and if it was not imported but originated at one time in the country itself, among whom and when did it first originate? Some are of opinion, that it first originated among the Jains. The Vedic books speak of sacrifices, among which there were also animal sacrifices.[1] The Jains who were opposed to killing animals, replaced this animal sacrifice by the images of their Tirathankars, so that the attention of their worshippers may be drawn to them in place of the animal sacrifices. The Brahmins then in rivalry introduced idols in their rituals. They replaced the idols of the Jain Tirthankars, Mahâvira and Parasnath by those of their own gods Râm and Krishnâ. The Buddhists also had their idols. The Brahmins, in order to preserve the attachment of the people to their ritual, followed them also and introduced idol-worship.

IV

Origin of idol-worship in Persia, Mongolia and Arabia.

Various reasons are ascribed to the origin of idol-worship in the world. We saw above, how even idealism may lead to it through art, which is a co-adjutor of religion. Well-nigh the same cause is attributed to the origin of idol-worship in Persia and Mongolia by later Persian writers.

It is strange, that though the Avesta and the Pahlavi literature of ancient Iran speak against idol-worship, according to a later Persian writer, the author of the Zeenut-ut-Tavârikh, idol-worship originated in Iran in remote times, in the time of King Tehmurasp (the Takhma-urupa of the Avesta), as the result of an extraordinary regard for the dead in the time of an epidemic. "The account of its origin appears very natural. A malignant disease had raged so long in Persia, that men, distracted at losing many of their dearest friends and relations, desired to preserve the memory of them by busts

1 The Avesta also refers to animal sacrifices. In the Yaçna (Ha, XI, Hom. Yasht 4, S.B.E. XXXI, p. 245), we read of some such sacrifice of an animal, a particular part of which was offered to Haoma. The use of milk and clarified butter (goshudo) in the modern ritual has come down from old times as an improved form of this ancient custom.

and images which they kept in their houses, as some consolation under their affliction. These images were transmitted to posterity by whom they were still more venerated; and in the course of time the memorials of tender regard were elevated into objects of adoration."[1]

A similar cause seems to have introduced idol-worship among the Mongols. Malcolm quotes the Travels of William de Rubruquis, a monk who was sent, in A.D. 1253, by Louis the Ninth of France (commonly called St. Louis) to the Court of Mangou Khan, the grandson of Chengiz. The monk was told: 'We frame not these images to represent god: but when any rich man among us or his son, or his wife, or any of his friends dieth, he causeth the image of the dead person to be made, and to be placed here; and we, in remembrance of him, do reverence thereunto.....out of regard to their memories."[2]

Origin of idolatry among the ancient Arabs

Perceval[3], the modern historian of the Arabs, says that according to some authorities, the early Arabs were free from idolatry. According to others it prevailed from early times and began with the spread of the Arabs from the Kabah. They worshipped at the Kabah and when they began to disperse, they took with them a stone from the vicinity of the Kabah as a precious relic (une relique precieuse). They put up these stones in their houses wherever they be and went round it as they went round the Kabah.

Displeasure against idolatry carried too far.

Modern critics, in their expression of displeasure against idol-worship, carry matters very far, and treat as idolatry, what really is not idolatry. We had an example of this kind recently. In 1916, during the course of the great war, it was suggested, that crosses or calvaries may be erected in England on waysides here and there in honour of those who were killed in the war. The Protestant Alliance thereupon protested against the suggestion and wrote to the Premier that the suggestion may not be followed out. They suggested in its stead, that the "better way" to

1 Malcolm's History of Persia, Vol. I, pp. 9-10.
2 *Ibid*, p. 10 Note.
3 Essai sur l'Histoire des Arabs I, p. 197.

show respect to the dead would be to put their names on brass tablets in, or on, public buildings. The *Athæneum* thereupon said that there was nothing like idolatry in this. It said: "This strikes us as yet another recrudescence of the old iconoclastic spirit, and it is curious to notice that, whether in the eighth or the seventeenth century, whether among Albigenses or English Protestants, it utters always the same peculiarly strident outcry—the burden of which is a horror of idolatry. We doubt whether idolatry—in the sense of definite religious worship offered to a graven image as if it were a divinity—is even possible to a Western European in the twentieth century. Even if it were so, the abuse of a good is not sufficient reason for abolishing its use. The trouble we have to meet in our day and country is not that people fail to practise their religion rightly, but that they tend to have no religion at all. To look for a moment at Christ upon His Cross, remembering as one does so those who have fallen in battle, striving to emulate His spirit of sacrifice, is at least to have a glimpse of them *sub specie æternitatis*, as the old phrase has it. Less than that will hardly satisfy, and we do not think that can be achieved by the brass tablet in a public building."[1]

Idol-worship, if helpful to the illiterate, may be tolerated.

Various reasons have been preached against idol-worship. One of them, as preached by the Old Testament prophets, was, that Jehovah or God was jealous and intolerant of such false gods. But this is not a correct reason. To many worshippers, idol is a symbol. They do not worship the idol as God but they worship God in the idol. Sir Oliver Lodge, one of the best scientists of this day, in his "Man and the Universe," takes this very sensible view and says: "An idol, to ignorant and undeveloped people, is a symbol of something which they are really worshipping under a material form and embodiment: the sensuous presentation assists their infantile efforts towards abstract thought, as material sacraments help people in a higher stage of religious development. But some of these helps should be outgrown. An adult mathematician hardly needs a geometrical figure, crudely composed of fragments of chalk or smears of plumbago or ink, to help

1 The *Athæneum* of August 1916, No. 4608, p. 361.

him to reason ; and if he uses such a diagram he is aware that he is not really attending to it, but is reasoning about ideal and unrealisable perfections ; he has soared above the symbol, and is away among the cementing laws of the universe. If an image or a tree-trunk or other object helps a savage to meditate on some divine and intractable conception,—if it has been so used by thousands of his ancestors, and has acquired a halo of reverence through antiquity and by the accumulation of human emotion lavished upon it,—a missionary should think twice before he is rude to it, or abuses it, or pulls it down. We do not rebuke a child for lavishing a wealth of nascent maternal affection on some grotesque black-Betty of a wooden rag covered doll ; we do not despise, we honour, a regiment content to be decimated so it may save its flag,—which materially is almost a nonentity. And so if we send missionaries, we should send competent men, who will gradually educate, by implanting useful arts, and positive virtues ; and we should tell these messengers, clearly, that negative and iconoclastic teaching may be very cruel. These things depend upon grade attained."

OLD IRANIAN FORMS OF INVOCATION OF GOD.

Ancient Persian writings began with some forms of invocation to God. All these forms meant to say that the writing was begun "with (or in) the name of God." In the Ahura Mazda Yasht, Zoroaster asked Ahura Mazda as to what part of the mâthra (मंत्र) gave most courage, victory, etc. Ahura Mazda replied that it was the recital of his and his Ameshâ Spentas' names that gave one courage, victory, etc. On being further asked, as to His particular names which were most efficacious, Ahura Mazda gives His twenty names, which, if properly recited, day and night, may give one help and pleasure (avangha अवघ and rafnangha). Ahura Mazda then gives about 54 more names, the recital of which may help a person in his difficulties. Among these, two are Ahura (the life-giver) and Mazda (the Omniscient), which two names, joined, have given us Ahura Mazda, the Avestaic name of God.

All ancient Persian or Parsee writers follow, as it were, this injunction, and give, in the beginning, the name of God as a form of invocation. All Parsee prayers in the Avesta language begin with an invocatory formula, "Khshnaothra Ahurahê Mazdâo," *i.e.*, "for the pleasure of Ahura Mazda" or "may Ahura Mazda be pleased," followed by the recital of an Ashem Vohû formula.

Following this injunction, all Pahlavi books have some kind of invocatory formulas. I give below a list of such formulas found in various Pahlavi books :—

(1) *Pavan shem-i Dātār Aoharmazd, i.e.*, By the name of the Creator Oharmazd.

This formula is found in :—

(*a*) The Bundehesh. Justi's Text (Der Bundehesh, p. 1).

(*b*) The Nirangistan. The photo-litho facsimile, by Dastur Darab Peshotan Sanjana.

(*c*) The Minokherad. Ervad Tehemuras's Text published with Introduction from my pen. The rendering of it in the Sanskrit translation is श्री अहुर मज्दाय नम :

(*d*) Aibâdgâr-i Zarirân. Dastur Jamaspji's Pahlavi Texts, p. 1.

(2) *Pavan shem-i Yazdân, i.e.*, By the name of God.

This formula is found in :—

(*a*) Ardâi Virâf-nâmeh. Dastur Hoshang Jamasp's Text. Dastur Kaikhosru Jamaspji's Text.

(*b*) Afdiya va Sahigiya-i Sistân. Dastur Jamaspji's Text, p. 25. *Vide* my Translation, p. 123.

(*c*) Khûsrû-i Kavâtân va Retaki. Dastur Jamaspji's Text, p. 27.

(*d*) Andarzhâ-i-Peshinigân. *Ibid*, p. 39.

(*e*) Chitak Andarz-i-Poryôtakeshân. *Ibid*, p. 41.

(*f*) Andarz-i-Dânâkân val Mazdayacnân. *Ibid*, 51.

(*g*) Andarz-i-Anusheh-robân Âtropât Marespandân. *Ibid*, p. 58.

(*h*) Sakhun ayochand i Atar Farobag-i-Farkhozâdân goft. *Ibid*, p. 79.

(*i*) Vâjakihâ-i-Bakht-âfrid va Âtarpât-i-Zartushtân.[1] *Ibid*, 81.

(*j*) Hanakhtunishn-i Mandum-i-Gêtî.[1] *Ibid*, p. 82.

(3) *Pavan shem-i-Yazdân datak nayōk, i.e.*, By the name of God, the good Giver, or, the Giver of the good.

This formula is used in :—

(*a*) The Dinâ-i-Mainu Khrat (Minokherad). Dastur Dara b P. Sanjana's Text.

(*b*) Andarz-i-Khosru-i-Kavatân. Dastur Jamasji's Pahlavi Text, p. 55.

(4) *Pavan shem-i-Yazdân va nyâishn i nayōk yehevūnāt, i.e.*, May this be in the name of God and his good praise.

This formula is found in :—(1) An Old-Zand-Pahlavi Glossary. Dastur Hoshang Jamasp and Dr. Martin Haug's Text.

[1] The Text gives no heading, but I give the names as properly given by Mr. B. T. Anklesaria (Introduction, pp. 30 and 31).

(5) *Pavan shem-i Dātār-i vēh afzûnīk, i.e.*, By the name of God who is the good Increaser.

This formula is found in :—Shatroihâ-i-Airan. Dastur Jamaspji's Text, p. 18. *Vide* my Translation, p. 51.

(6) *Pavan shem-i Yazdān datak-i nayōk tan-durastīh, i.e.*, By the name of God, the Giver of good health.

This formula is found in :—Pand-nâmeh-i Dastur Âdarbâd Mâraspand. Ervad Sheriarjee's Text and Translation.

(7) *Pavan shem-i Yazat Dātgar, i.e.*, By the name of the Just God.

This formula is found in :—The Pahlavi Rivâyat accompanying the Dâdistân-i Dinik. Ervad Bamanji Nasservanji Dhabhar's Text.

(8) *Pa nām-i Yazdā, i.e.*, By the name of God. (This form is the Pazend rendering of the above mentioned Pahlavi formula *Pavan shem-i Yazdân.*)

This formula is found in :—The Aogemadaechâ. The Text reprinted in Bombay in 1859, from Dr. W. Geiger's Text.

(9) *Pa nām-i Hōrmezd Khadāē, i.e*, By the name of Hormazd the God.

This formula is found in :—Shikand-Gûmânik Vijâr. The Pâzand-Sanskrit Text, by Dastur Hoshang Jamasp and Dr. West.

The Pahlavi formula has assumed in later Persian books the form of Ba nâm-i Yazad, بنام یزد *i.e.*, By the name of God. This form is often amplified as بنام یزد بخشایند ه بخشایشگر مهربان *i.e.*, By the name of God, the Giver, the Bountiful, the Merciful.

THE TAZIKS OF THE NIRANG-I SAROSH YASHT.

Introduction.

In the Pâzend prayer (Nirang) recited after the greater Sarosh Yasht (Sarosh Yasht Vadi, Yasna LVII) one invokes the help of Sarosh Yazad upon, among several others, the Tâzis [1], who put on the *kusti* or the sacred thread (Taziân-i basta kustiân).

Ervad Kavasji E. Kanga very properly translated the above words as (કુસ્તી બાંધનારા અરબો) (જુઆને જે અરબોએ જરથોસ્તી ધર્મ કબુલ કીધો હોએ તેઓ)[2] "the Arabs who put on the *kusti*, *i.e.*, those Arabs who have accepted the Zoroastrian faith." Dr. Spiegel has mistaken the word Tâzi for Tâji, and so has translated the above words as "the wearers of crowns, those who have girded on the Kosti." [3] If we take the word to be Tâji as he has taken it, the word would not mean "the wearers of crowns." No Persian dictionary gives the word Tâji in that sense. The proper Persian word in that sense would be tâj-dâr. [4] Spiegel seems to have been misled by some previous Parsee translations. For example, we have the translation of the late learned Dastur Edulji Darabji Sanjana, published in 1187 Yazdazardi (1818 A D.). There, the translation runs as "તાજદાર (એટલે પાદશાહો) અને જરતોશતી દીનના લોકો જે કુસ્તીનાં બાંધનાર છે," *i.e.*, the tâjdars (*i.e.*, the kings) and the people of the Zoroastrian religion who put on the *kusti* [5] As all the Zoroastrians at the time when the nirang was written were expected to put on the *kusti*, the grouping of the names by the learned Dastur does not seem to be proper.

[1] The same word, written in Pahlavi characters, may be read as Tâzi or Tâzik.

[2] Khordeh Avesta, 8th Edition, 1916, p. 297. [3] Khordah-Avesta, Fragment LXIV, p. 190.

[4] *Vide* the Persian Dictionary of Steingass.

[5] *Vide* the second edition of the translation published by Behedin Dadabhoy Sorabji in 1875, p. 297. *Vide* also third edition by બેહદીન હોરમજજી મનચેરજી 1232 Yazd., p. 315.

I possess a manuscript book of Avesta with translation written in Gujarati characters in Samvat 1800 (A.C. 1743).[1] In this manuscript. f. 136, the word is written as તાજેહાન Tajehân and the translation of the word is omitted. The translation of the wording after the omitted word runs as "જરથોશતની દીન માહે કુશતીના બાંધનારા." Perhaps the writer knew that the word referred to the Arabs, but, he may have thought to himself: "How could the Arabs, who destroyed the country and religion of Iran, be remembered together with the true believers?" Not being able to give a satisfactory answer to himself, he omitted to explain the word.

This Nirang is contained in the Pazend Texts published by the late Ervad Edalji Kersaspji Antia (p. 163). There, Ervad Antia also has followed the incorrect reading of the word as *tajehân* instead of as *tâziân*.

But the late Ervad Framji Minocherji Dastur Jamaspji, B.A., has given the correct reading in the Avesta characters in his Khordeh Avesta[2] as "Taziân-i basta kushtiân." Thus, we see that the Taziks of the nirang of Sarosh Yasht are Arabs.

[1] It consists of 302 folios, each page containing 13 lines. The first page says that it is "આવરતાના માએનાંની કેતાબ". It bears the following colophon at the end: એ કેતાબ તમામ શમાપુરંજુ કીધી છે. શા. ૧૮૦૦ ના રોજ શ્રી દેપાદર દાદાર અહુરમજદ માહા શ્રી અશપંનદારમદ અમશાસ્પંદ ભાદરવા વદી ૩ વારે ગરૂ.

એ કેતાબ આ. બરજોર એ. માણુક એ. પેશતંન એ. શોહરાબ એ. રાણુજીની એ કેતાબ છે.

હેનદોસ્તાન કશમે નોસારીનાં એ કેતાબ લખનાર બેહેદીન માણેક બેન ફરામ બેન આદર બેન દારાબજી ઓડકા† ટલાટી આતશ બેહરામની બગી બારીની પાશે રહેછે. એ કેતાબ જે કોઇ વાંચે અથવા લખે તેને કેને‡ દોઆ પુહચે. શ્રીજી રાશતીનું ધણીબરહક.

The writer Maneck seems to be the son of Faramji Aderji Talati, who was one of the signatories of a letter dated Roz 21, Mah 9, year Samvat 1797 (A.C. 1741), written by the laymen of Naosari to those of Bulsar, asking them to take care of the sacred fire of the Atash Behram removed from Naosari to Bulsar, and to see that the ritual of feeding it (બોબેદેવી) was not performed without the *moti khub* (મોટી ખુબ) (Parsee Prakash I, p. 856).

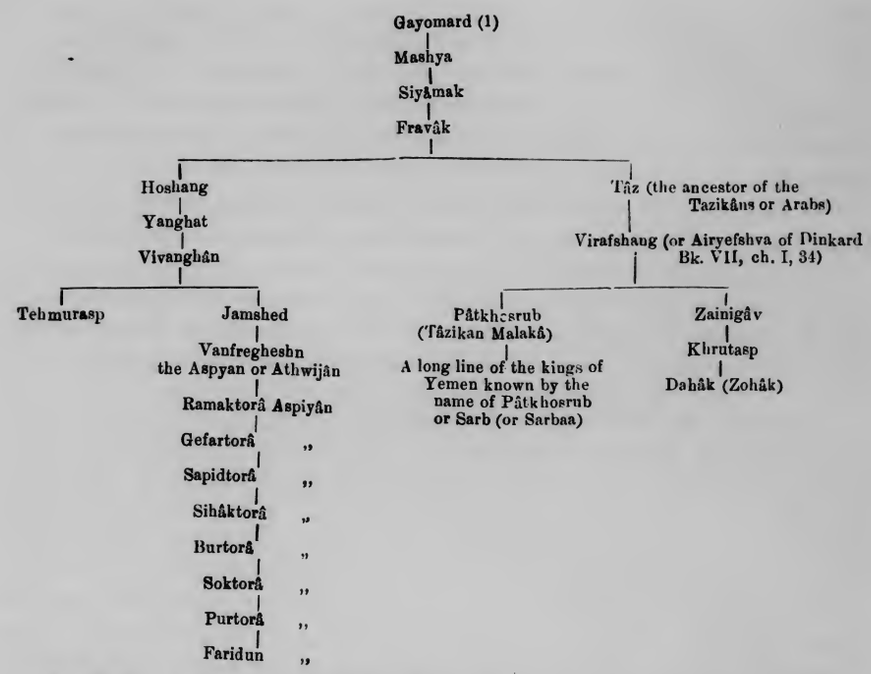
The colophon further seems to say that formerly there was an Agiary, *i.e.*, a fire-temple of the second grade, near the Atash Behram. We know that at present the Agiary is at the distance of a quarter of mile from the site of the Atash Beheram. There is another colophon on folio 139.

† For અડક or અટક. ‡ કેને *i.e.*, to or with cf. મારી કને નથી.

[2] ખોરદેહ અવરતા ખુદ અવરતાના હરફે (૧૮૮૧) p. 316.

Who were the Tâziks.

The question is : Who were the Tâziks, the Arabs, who are spoken of as ' basta kustiân,' *i.e.*, those who had put on the kusti or the sacred thread, the symbol of Zoroastrianism? Do Parsee books lead us to see that there were Arabs who were Zoroastrians? Does any book of history show that any of the Arabs had at any time taken to Mazdayasnism or Zoroastrianism ? The object of this paper is to answer these questions in the affirmative, and to show that in pre-Zoroastrian times there were Mazdayasnized Arabs, *i.e.*, Arabs who had, to some extent, followed the Mazdayasnan faith which prevailed at the time, and one of the principal elements of which was Fire-reverence. In Zoroastrian or post-Zoroastrian times there were Arabs who had taken to Zoroastrian faith. According to the Iranian Genesis, the Pahlavi Bundehesh (Chap. XV), which describes the Evolution of Mankind, the Taziks were so called, because they descended from a pair named Tâz and Tâzik, whose progeny went to the desert of the Taziks (dasht-i-Tâzikân), *i.e.*, the Desert of the Arabs, or the Arabian desert. The Iranians came down from the progeny of Hoshang and his wife Gujak. These two, Tâz and Hoshang, the progenitors of the Arabs and the Iranians, were brothers, both being the sons of Fravâk the son of Siâmak (*Ibid.* Ch. XXXI, 1 and 6). Thus, without imparting too much importance to the details, we may say, that according to the old Iranian tradition, both the Arabs and Persians, the Semites and the Iranian Aryans, had a common stem, somewhere in Western Asia. The following table, based on the Bundehesh (Chap. XXXI) and the Dinkard (Bk. VII, Chap. I, 34), shows us the descent of the Semitic and Iranian stems generally, and of Faridun and Pâtkhosrub in particular.



According to the Arab historian Maçoudi, some Arabs derived their genealogy from Kahtân, and others, especially those of the tribe of Nizân, considering themselves above the Kahtanides of Yemen, invoked their relationship with the Persians (Maçoudi par B. de Meynard, II, p.142). This Arab view then supports the Iranian tradition of the Bundehesh.

As to the religion of the ancient Arabs, according to Firdousi, they worshipped a stone arch (*mehrâb sang*, Mohl's Text, p. 36). This shows, that just as the Christian Cross existed before Christ, and just as the Zoroastrian Fire-reverence and *kusti*, the symbol of its followers, existed before Zoroaster, so the Mahomedan custom of turning to the arch in worship existed long before Mahomed. But, according to Maçoudi (Vol. I, 131), at one time Zoroastrian

[1] P. 228 of the Text, The Bundahshn, edited by the late Ervad Tehmuras Dinshaji Anklesaria (1908).

Fire-worship had, side by side with the above worship, entered Arabia, at least in a particular part or tribe of Yemen. All the people were on the point of following it, but one Khâlid bin Sinân banished it from the country. A miracle was expected from that event but was averted. With a baton in his hand, he threw himself over the fire burning in a brazier. The fire was extinguished and he was burnt.

In this story, we see the first trace or glimpse of Mazdaism as prevalent at one time in the dasht-i Tâzikan, *i.e.*, the Desert of the Arabs. This faith continued in one part or another of the country, more or less, at one time or another, and it is these Tâziks, these Arabs, who followed the Mazdayaçnân faith, who are remembered as Tâziân-i bastah-kustiân (*i.e.*, the Arabs who put on the *kusti* or the sacred thread) in the *nirang* recited after the Sarosh Yasht.

Azidahâka or Zohâk, whose rule over Persia is spoken of as a foreign rule from Bawri or Babylon, is spoken of in Persian books as a Tâzik or an Arab. So, he was an Arab of the old Arab faith, who had not accepted the Mazdayaçnan faith of Fire-reverence. But, there lived at the time another Arab of the other class, *i.e.*, a follower of the Mazdayaçnan faith. He was one Pât-khosrû, who is spoken of as the king of the Arabs (Tâzikân Malkâ). This Pât-khusrû or Pât-khusrub or Pât-Sarub, which is his name in the Pahlavi books, is the Sarv of Firdousi, according to whom he was the Arab king of Yemen.[1] The there sons of king Faredun of Iran—Selam, Tur and Erach—were married to the three daughters of this Arab king. There seems to have been a long line of the kings of this name, and I think, that this Srub or Surb or Sarv of the Iranian books is the same as the Sabâa of Arab authors, from which name a line or tribe of the Arabs is known as the Sabaeans.

This Arab king Pât-khosru, or Pât-khusrub or Pât-Sarub, is referred to in several Pahlavi books. He is referred to in the Pahlavi Vendidad[2] as a very wealthy (tobanikân, Pers. tavângar) person. Darmesteter, on the authority of Hamza Isfahâni, says, that the Arabs of Yemen were supposed to be very rich (sont légendaires par leur richesses[3]).

[1] The dropping of *Pât* the first part of the name and then of *khu* gives us the name *Sarv*.

[2] Chap. XX. [3] Zend-Avesta II, p. 277, n. 4.

According to Tabari [1], India had a share in making Yemen rich. It seems that there was a brisk trade between India and Arabia. Tabari particularly refers to an Arab king Raisch who came to India and carried riches to Yemen.

The matrimonial relationship of Faredun's sons with the Arab king Pat Srub is referred to in the Dinkard where he is spoken of as the king of the Arabs (Tâzikân malkâ) and as a relative of Tâz (Tâz patvand).[2]

There is another reference to him in the Dinkard which is more important for our purpose. It is in the commencement of the seventh book in the chapter, which Dr. West [3] numbers as Chap. I, but Dastur Darab [4] as Introductory. The chapter treats of the glory (vakhsh, elsewhere spoken of as gadman, Avesta kharenangh, kavaêm kharêno, Pers. khur) of the ancient Iranian world. It is, as it were, a modified and amplified form of the Avesta Zamyâd Yasht (Yt. XIX) which, as said by Darmesteter, would serve as a short history of the Iranian monarchy, an abridged Shâh Nâmeh. The Kayânian Glory (kavaêm kharêno of the Avesta or the vakhsh of the Dinkard) is represented as running in succession from one great monarch or great man to another. The list of the Zamyâd Yasht varies a little from that of the Dinkard. For example, the Zamyâd Yasht begins with Hoshang but the Dinkard names Gayomard, Mashya Mashyai, Siâmak and Vâçgard before Hoshang. Among such differences, one is that of the addition of the name of Pât-khurub by the Dinkard. But what strikes us as a little strange, is, that the name occurs after that of Kaikobad, whereas, he being a contemporary of Faredun, his name ought to have been mentioned higher up. But that question should not concern us here, because the patronymic name may have caused some confusion.

Now, the importance of this reference is in the matter of what is stated here about Pât-khusrub's religion. I will give the passage here as translated by Dr. West :—

"34. And it (*i.e.*, the Glory) came to Pâta-khosrôbô, son of Aîrêfshvâ,

[1] Tabari par Zotenberg I, p. 289.

[2] Bk. VIII, Ch. XII, 9. Dastur Darab's Dinkard, Vol. XV, p. 26, l. 7.

[3] S. B. E., Vol. XLVII, p. 12, Chap. I, 34.

[4] Dinkard, Vol. XIII, p. 13 of the Text of the Introduction of Bk. VII ; p. 14 of the Eng. Translation, p. 18 of Guj. Translation. *Vide* the Dinkard published under the supervision of Mr. D. M. Madon, Vol. II, p. 597.

son of Tâz, who (was) king of the Arabs, through the mindfulness [1] of the archangel Ashavahishto, and his enquiry [2] about it from its own tribe—for the demon of greediness (âzô) with one similarly destined,[3] had rushed for the

[1] Ayâtagih. Dastur Darab reads the word as âshtih in one place (Eng. Translation, p. 14) and âshtagih in another (Pahl. Transliteration of the Text p. 13, and translate it as friendly communion or 'friendship.' I am inclined to take it as a form of Yashtgih, *i.e.*, worship, invocation.

[2] Pazdinitan. Dr. West, while translating the word as 'inquiry,' does not give his reading or derivation. Dastur Darab reads it as '*pazdinidan*' and translates it as "inspiration." He does not say, how he derives that meaning. Had it been "pish-dinidan," his translation would do. I translate the word as "pursuing." In the Vendidad (XV, 5) we have a word *pazdayêiti*. There the sentence runs thus: *Thritûm œrtaêsham shkyothnanûm yôi verezinti* mashyâka yô gadhwâm yâm aputhrâm janaiti vâ vayêiti vâ khraosayêiti vâ pazdayêiti vâ.

This sentence is in reply to the question in the commencement of the chapter as to which are the evil deeds which make a man peshô-tâuva, *i.e.*, which make him guilty of a *tanâfûr gunâh*, which is a sin that cannot be atoned. The reply is, that there are five deeds which are of this worst kind, *viz.*:

1. Maligning a righteous man.
2. Giving bad food to the watchdogs which protect the streets and the cattle.
3. Striking, driving away, frightening and pursuing a bitch that is with child.
4. Cohabiting with a woman in her menses.
5. Cohabiting with a woman who is in an advanced state of pregnancy.

Now the above sentence refers to the third evil deed in the list. Therein, the word pazdayêiti is variously translated: Ervad Kavasji Kanga translates it as "kicks" (લાત મારે). In his Avesta Dictionary (p. 813), he gives the word under the word *pazdâ* as "to stamp on the ground," deriving it from pad=pâdha foot and *dhâ* to put (પગ જોર ઉપર મૂકવવા). The word occurs as third person plural pazdayanta in the Ashishavangh Yasht (Yt. XVII, 55). There, Kanga translates it in the sense of "running after, pursuing. પૂઠે લાગ્યા." He does not say, how he derives that meaning, but, it seems, that here, he does not follow his above derivation but takes it as *paç* and *dâ*. Just as we have avi dâ आभि-दा to attack, so paç-dâ means to pursue.

Now this Avesta word pazdayêiti is given in the Pahlavi Vendidad as pazdinêt which Dastur Hoshangji translates as "stamps on the ground" (*Vide* his Vendidad Glossary, p. 188). He does not derive the word but he seems to follow Ervad Kavasji Kanga.

Prof. Darmesteter, following the Pahlavi rendering (âighash yadman min âkhar shikâvit: *Vide* Dastur Jamaspji's Pahlavi Vendidad, Transliteration, p. 108) has translated the words as "clapping of hands," but in his footnote (S. B. E. IV, 1st ed., p. 173, n. 2) has said "or with stamping in the ground," and has referred to the 31st chapter of the Sad-dar nasr (*vide* Ervad Bamanji N. Dhabhar's Text, p. 25, l. 10) where, speaking of the regard and care for the dogs, it is enjoined, that one should not walk carelessly where a dog is asleep, so as to disturb it (na shâyad kê pâe sakht bar zamin nehand kê u bidâr shavad).

Now, whatever the meaning of the Avesta word, of which the Pahlavi rendering is pazdinêt, I take the word in the Pahlavi Dinkard to be this word, and not as Dr. West and Dastur Darab have taken it. I take it in the sense of pursuing or attacking.

[3] *Hamân bakhto* seems to be the reading of Dr. West. Dastur Darab reads it as Amâul-bâtag and says that "it may be a Pahlavicised form of some such Arabic proper name as عمرو لباطل Amuel-ul-bâtil." I am

destruction of him who (was) very gentle to that tribe[1]—(as he had) a full inclination for the ascendancy of the portion whose guidance to the lofty priestly master (was) owing to the archangel Ashavahishto, just as the fish image of that (other) portion (was) for falling into the river; and it is declared that he came to the ceremonial of Zaratusht."

The passage of the Dinkard is rather difficult and both the translators, Dastur Darab and Dr. West, differ a good deal in their translations. But the pith of the passage is in the last sentence, *viz.*, *val yazashna i zartuhasht matan paitâk*, *i.e.*, his coming to the worship of Zoroaster is well-known, or as Dr. West puts it, "he (Pat-Khusrob) came to the ceremonial of Zaratûsht," [2] or as Dastur Darab puts it, "its (the tribe's, *i.e.*, Patkhusrub's tribe's) coming to the ceremonials of Zarathushtra."[3] I give below my transliteration and translation of the passage:—

Mat val Pâtkhosrûb i Airyafshva i Tâz i Tâzikân Malkâ. Pavan Ashavahishta Amhôspand yashtgih avash pazdînîdan patash min nafshman ram âz shaedâ levatman Amânbâtak pavan marôzhînîdan i zak i narm narm val zak ram dôbarest ikvîmûnât. Pavan lâlâih farûmânih i bâhar i val rad i bûland min Ashavahishta Amhôspand nimâyâshna chêgun zak bâhar i mâhîk kalp pavan rûd nafrûnastan va val yazhashna i Zartuhasht matan paêtâk.

Translation:—(That Glory) came to Pâtkhosrûb, the son of Airyafshva, son of Tâz, who was the king of the Tâziks. He (Pâtkhosrûb), by (virtue of) the worship of Asha-vahisht (Ardibehesht) Ameshâspand, by slow degrees ran after (*i.e.*, brought about) the destruction of (his) tribe by pursuing (or fighting with) Amânbâtak [4] the ambitious demon of his own tribe. He was nobly (lâlâih) inclined toward the belief of that high leader, Ashavahisht Ameshaspand in the same way as he was for throwing into the river the belief (of the worship) of fish-figures. His coming to the worship of Zoroaster is made known.

inclined to agree with Dastur Darab that it is a proper name, though not that, or that of the kind which he suggests. As said above, I have taken the word pazdinidan in the sense of "attacking or fighting," so, here, the mention of the name of an enemy is probable.

[1] Dr. West gives a footnote and says that the sentence indicates "that the Arab subjects of the king had revolted, because he favoured those of the primitive faith, who, no doubt, gained further favour by putting down the rebellion." (S. B. E., Vol. 47, p. 13, n. 1). Here, it is not merely the question of favouring the primitive faith, *i.e.*, the old Paoiryo-tkaêshi Mazdayaçnân faith, but the question of Pât khusrub himself being a Mazdayaçnan and worshipper of fire as is indicated by the passage.

[2] S. B. E., Vol. XVLII, p. 13. [3] Dinkard, Vol. XIII, Bk. VII, p. 14.

[4] I follow Dastur Darab in reading this word.

Now, as said above, though translators may differ as to the literal translation of this difficult passage, what it tends to show is this : Pat-Khusrob had parted with his ancestral Arab faith and turned to Mazdaism, the faith of Irân. We saw above, on the authority of Maçoudi, that, in very early times, some of the Arabs of Yemen followed the Iranian Fire-worship and that it was one Khalid who abolished it. So, here, Patkhurob's " mindfulness " or " friendliness with " or " worship of " Ashavahishta (Ardibehesht) Ameshsâpand, who presides on fire (Ardibehesht âtash âtash sardagan jast : Patet Adarbad, s. 8) is a clear reference to his and to his Arab followers' religion, that they followed the old primitive Mazdayaçnan religion wherein reverence to fire played an important part, and that they were opposed to the worship of fish and such other fetishes. The last part of the above passage, *viz.*, that it is declared that he came to the ceremonial of Zarathusht (Val. yazashna i zartuhasht matan paêtâk) is very significant. It clearly points to Pâtkhosru and his followers being Mazdayaç-nans.

As the time of Pat-khosru was far anterior to that of Zoroaster, the reference to Zoroaster is an anachronism. But what the later writer of the Dinkard may have taken to mean, is that Pât-khusrub took to the Iranian way of paying reverence to fire which was prevalent among the ancient Mazdayaçnâns, the way which led to the final reform of Zoroaster wherein also the reverence to fire continued.

The Pahlavi Shatroiha-i Airan[1] says, that Faridun conquered that part of Arabia which is known as the Dasht-i Tâzikân, *i.e*, the Desert of Arabia, and presented it as a marriage gift to Pât-khusro, the Arab king of Yemen. According to the Mâdigân i-Binâ Farvadin yum Khûrdâd, the above referred to marriage of the three sons of Faredun with the three daughters of the king of Yemen took place on the Khordadsal day.

The Taziks, who nowadays form a special group, one of the two principal ethnical groups of Persia, are the descendants of these Persianized or Zoroastrianized Arabs. Dr. Luschan[2] speaks of them as " the descendants of the old Per-

[1] *Vide* my translation of the Aiyâdgâr-i Zarirân, Shatroihâj Airân va Afdih va Sahigih-Seestan, pp. 87-88.

[2] Dr. Felix V. Luschan, in his article entitled " The early Inhabitants of Western Asia " in the July to December Number (Vol. XLI, 1911) of the Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute.

sians and Medes." Dr. Bellew says, that in Afghanistan, even now, the Tâziks are known as the Parseiwan. This very name points to their relationship with the ancient Persians. He says : " The term Tâzik, it is said, is derived from the ancient Persian name for the Arab. The ancient Persian writers distinguish their hereditary enemies on the north and south respectively by the terms Turk and Tâz or Tâj. And hence it is that the term Tâz applied to the Arab only in Persia ; and everything connected with him, or proceeding from him, was called by the Persians Tâzi or Tâzik, which are the same as Tâji or Tâjik. In course of time, it seems these terms became restricted to designate things of Arab origin in Persia in contradistinction to the pure and native article. Thus an Arab settling in the country, and not intermarrying with its people, retained his proper national title through successive generations. But the Arab intermingling with the people of the country, lost his proper nationality ; and in the succeeding generations, was called Tâjik by the Persians. An imported Arab horse or dog, etc., was not called Tâzi but Arabi. Their offspring, however from a Persian mare or bitch, received the name of Tâzi and were no longer called Arabi.[1]

History points to a long list of the Mazdayaçnan kings of Iran who had relations at one time or another with one part or another of Arabia and with one or another tribe of the Arabs.[2] In the case of the reign of Noshirwan (Khusro Kobâdân, Chosroes I), we find clear references to Zoroastrian rule over Yemen. So, it is quite possible that the Mazdayaçnân faith, and, later on, the Zoroastrian faith prevailed there and that the Tâzis referred to in the Nirang-i Sarosh Yasht were Zoroastrianized Arabs.

[1] " The Race of Afghanistan, being a Brief Account of the Principal Nations inhabiting that Country," by Surgeon-Major H. M. Bellew (1880), p. 110.

[2] *Vide* my paper entitled " The Physical Character of the Arabs : Their Relations with Ancient Persians," read before the Anthropological Society of Bombay on 24th June 1919 (Vol. XI, No. 7, pp. 724-768).

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